

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY
Weekly Report

REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED IN WHOLE OR IN PART

VOL. XIV
PAGES 1235-1274

WEEK ENDING OCT. 19, 1956

No. 42

CONTENTS

	Page
Congressional Quiz	ii
Fact Sheets	1235
Pressures On Congress	1253
Committee Roundup	1254
Around The Capitol	1256
Political Notes	1257
Campaign Statements	1258
Capitol Quotes	iii
Week In Congress	iv

HOUSE ELECTION PERCENTAGES

Page 1271

Platforms vs. Performance

**Party Promises in 1952, '56
Matched Against Party Action**

Page 1235

Third of House Seats May Switch Parties

Page 1263

COPYRIGHT 1956

BY CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY NEWS FEATURES

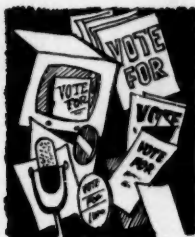
The Authoritative Reference on Congress

1156 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • STerling 3-8060

Congressional Quiz

Probably you have been solicited for campaign funds. How much do you know about campaign spending? A good score on this quiz is 5 out of 7.

1. Q--A researcher into campaign spending, Prof. Alexander Heard of the University of North Carolina, estimates that \$175 million will be spent in this Presidential election year for political campaigning at all levels of government. Would this be more or less than was spent in 1952? (one point)



A--More. According to Heard's research \$140 million was spent in 1952.

2. Q--Repeated attempts have been made to revise federal laws requiring reporting of campaign spending. Reported spending in the 1952 election on the Presidential and Congressional campaigns totaled \$23 million. What major areas of spending for these campaigns are not required to be reported under federal law? (two points)

A--Spending on primaries, and spending by state and local groups whose activities do not cross state lines and which are not affiliated with national organizations.

3. Q--What is the prevailing legal limit on spending by a national political committee in a single year:

(a) \$1 million; (b) \$3 million; (c) \$5 million; (d) \$7 million? (one point)

A--(b). The \$3 million limit is set by the Hatch Act of 1939 entitled an Act to Prevent Pernicious Political Activities.

4. Q--Federal law also places a limit on the gift of any individual to one candidate or national political committee. What is it? (one point)

A--\$5,000, set by the Hatch Act.

5. Q--Oregon's Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D) came up with a proposal this year for financing political campaigns which he traced to President Theodore Roosevelt. He proposed: (a) a national fund-raising campaign with the proceeds divided equally between the major parties; (b) a federal assessment of every person of voting age to defray campaign expenses; (c) an equal federal subsidy for the major parties. (one point)

A--(c). The subsidy would be the product of a rate per voter, higher in a Presidential election year than in an "off-year", times the average number of votes cast in two preceding elections.

6. Q--True or false: Under federal law it is illegal for a corporation or labor union to contribute to a political campaign. (one point)

A--True. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 forbids such contributions.

Copyright 1956, by Congressional Quarterly News Features
1156 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

CQ WEEKLY REPORT is published every Friday. All reproduction rights, including quotation, broadcasting and publication, are reserved for current editorial clients only. Second rights are reserved, including use of Congressional Quarterly material in campaign supplements, advertisements and handbooks without special permission. Rates are based on membership and/or circulation of clients and will be furnished on request. CQ Weekly Report and index also are available to clients on microfilm, at \$5.10 a year. Second class mail privileges authorized at Washington, District of Columbia.

1952, '56 PLEDGES MATCHED AGAINST ACTION

In 1956, as in 1952, Democratic and Republican platform writers managed without difficulty to claim fulfillment of their earlier pledges while taxing their opponents with a failure to do likewise.

In 1952, as befitted the party in power, the Democratic platform "pointed with pride" to the accomplishments of Democratic Administrations, while the Republican platform "viewed with alarm" a continuation of Democratic rule. In 1956, their roles reversed, the two parties exchanged themes. Republicans extolling their four-year record, Democrats denouncing it. But neither platform deviated from the time-honored formula of promising something -- and usually pretty much the same thing -- for everyone.

Most significant change occurred in the 1956 Republican platform, which pledged action in fields of education and welfare that were all but ignored in the party's 1952 platform. Democrats in 1952 had pledged "federal contributions" to schools, for example, while Republicans that year felt that "responsibility for sustaining this system of popular education" was up to the local community. The 1956 Republican platform took credit for urging "a five-year program of federal assistance in building schools" and pledged the party to "renew its efforts to enact a program." Between 1952 and 1956, President Eisenhower had persuaded his party to move closer to the Democratic position. No school aid program got through Congress, however, and each party laid the blame at the other's door.

Congressional Quarterly kept books on the record for 1953 through 1956, matching the parties' respective platform pledges with their performance, where possible, in Congress and the executive branch. A detailed record appears on the following pages. Highlights follow:

• **AGRICULTURE** -- Democrats promised to "protect" producers of the six basic commodities with "mandatory price supports...at not less than 90 percent of parity." Republicans "aimed at full parity prices for all farm products in the market place...." Both parties failed. Democrats voted to continue rigid supports at 90 percent of parity, but the Administration's program of lower, flexible supports was enacted. In 1956, Democrats passed a bill providing for a return to rigid supports, but it was vetoed by the President. Farm prices on the market declined steadily through 1955, picked up slightly in 1956.

• **SPENDING** -- Democrats and Republicans both pledged to work for reduction of federal spending. Total spending was reduced, chiefly through cuts in defense outlays, while non-defense spending increased somewhat.

• **BUDGET AND DEBT** -- Republicans in 1952 set out to attain the "goal" of a "balanced budget" and a "reduced national debt."

Although the national debt limit was increased, with bipartisan support, the Administration finally achieved a small budget surplus for fiscal 1956, which was applied to reduction of the national debt.

• **TAXES** -- The GOP promised "a general tax reduction," and the Democrats favored "reducing taxes, especially for people with lower incomes." Republicans also pledged "thorough revision and codification" of the tax laws. Some taxes enacted at the time of the Korean war were allowed to lapse, others were cut and the revenue laws were overhauled. Democrats tried but failed to enact further reductions aimed specifically at low-income groups.

• **KOREA** -- Both parties said they would seek peace in Korea, the Democrats asking for a "fair and effective" settlement, the Republicans for an "honorable and just peace." In 1953, a cease-fire was negotiated, leaving North and South Korea divided, but a final settlement was not achieved.

• **IMMIGRATION** -- Democrats in 1952 pledged to do away with "unjust and unfair" features of the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act. Republicans made no promises, although President Eisenhower later backed a series of changes. However, none was enacted by Congress.

• **SOCIAL SECURITY** -- Both parties in 1952 pledged extension of social security coverage, while Democrats went further in favoring "increased benefits...and lowering the retirement age for women." Congressional performance backed the broader Democratic program, with both parties supporting extension of coverage and increased benefit payments in 1954, and the lowering of the retirement age for women from 65 to 62 in 1956. Democrats in 1956 also added a disability benefits program over Republican opposition.

• **LABOR** -- Democrats pledged in 1952 to repeal the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act, while Republicans promised amendments. Disagreement between the two parties over the nature of changes to be made stymied Congressional action. In their 1956 platforms, each party renewed its 1952 pledge.

• **STATEHOOD** -- Democrats urged immediate statehood both for Hawaii and Alaska, while Republicans backed statehood for Hawaii only. Despite several attempts, Congress failed to enact statehood for either territory. Democrats renewed their pledge in 1956, while Republicans revised their qualifications on Alaskan statehood.

One pledge, given considerable prominence in the 1952 campaign, was noticeably missing in 1956. This was the GOP promise to "repudiate all commitments contained in secret understandings such as those of Yalta which aid Communist enslavements." The Eisenhower Administration later decided against such repudiation, and the issue was allowed to lapse.

Platforms vs. Performance Index

Subject	Page	Subject	Page
Agriculture		Taxes and Economic Policy	
Price Supports, Parity	1236	Taxes	1244
Soil Bank	1237	Government Spending	1245
Education and Welfare		Power and Water	1246
Education	1237	Controls	1248
Social Security	1238	Tidelands	1249
Health	1238	Foreign Policy	
Housing	1239	Foreign Aid	1249
Labor	1240	World Trade	1250
National Defense	1241	Immigration, Refugees	1250
Miscellaneous and Administrative		Disarmament	1251
Civil Rights	1243	Asia	1251
Statehood	1244	Europe	1251
Loyalty and Security	1244	Middle East	1252

Agriculture

Price Supports, Parity

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "Undertake immediately...to regain full 100 percent of parity the farmers received under the Democratic administrations. We will achieve this by means of supports on basic commodities at 90 percent of parity and by means of commodity loans, direct purchases, direct payments to producers, marketing agreements and orders, production adjustments or a combination of these.... Develop practical measures for extending price supports to feed grains and other non-basic storables and to producers of perishable commodities such as meat, poultry, dairy products and the like."

1956 Republican -- "Our objective is markets which return full parity to our farm and ranch people when they sell their products." Pledges "to provide price supports as in the Agricultural Act of 1954 (flexible or sliding scale supports)...to continue our commodity loan and marketing agreement programs...to make every effort to develop a more accurate measurement of farm parity...to work for improved farm prices and income."

1952 Democratic -- "We will continue to protect the producers of basic agricultural commodities under...a mandatory price support program at not less than 90 percent of parity. We continue to advocate practical methods for extending price supports to other storables and to the producers of perishable commodities...."

1952 Republican -- "We favor a farm program aimed at full parity prices for all farm products in the market place.... We condemn as a fraud on both the farmer and the consumer the Brannan plan scheme to pay direct subsidies from the federal Treasury in lieu of prices to producers.... Our program should include commodity loans on all non-perishable products supported at the level necessary to maintain a balanced production. Where government action on perishable commodities is desirable, we recommend locally controlled marketing agreements and other voluntary methods...."

PERFORMANCE

Full parity for farmers was not achieved during 1953-1956 and the parity ratio steadily declined. (Parity is the ratio between prices paid by farmers -- including interest, taxes and wage rates -- and prices received by farmers for their agricultural products. If prices received are lower than prices paid, then the parity ratio is below 100 percent and it is not "full parity.") The farmers' parity ratio for the past eight years:

1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956*
100%	101%	107%	100%	92%	89%	84%	82%

*As of Aug. 15.

Although government price-support operations affect parity, there are other non-governmental factors involved, such as supply and demand.

Administration

• **LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS** -- President Eisenhower in 1954 asked Congress to enact a "flexible" or "sliding scale" system of price supports on five "basic" commodities -- wheat, cotton, corn, rice, peanuts -- to replace the law requiring the government to support prices of basics at 90 percent of parity. Under the proposal, the government still would be required to support prices of basics, but the Secretary of Agriculture would determine the support level within a range of 75 percent to 90 percent of parity. The President also asked Congress to:

Continue rigid 90 percent supports on tobacco, the sixth "basic" commodity.

Continue the existing law requiring prices on dairy products (a "non-basic") to be supported at between 75 percent and 90 percent of parity.

Continue existing laws permitting the Secretary to support prices of other "non-basics" at his discretion.

Authorize direct compensatory payments to wool producers as a substitute for orthodox price supports. (Such direct payments had been one feature of the Brannan plan).

Place a dollar limit on the size of price support payments to any one individual or farming unit. (Proposed in 1956)

• **ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS** -- Following Congressional enactment of a flexible price support law in 1954, Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson applied its provisions to 1955 and 1956 crops of basic commodities. Price supports (in terms of percent of parity) established by Benson as compared below with the 1954 level under the rigid price support law:

	1956	1955	1954
Wheat	83.7% (76)*	82.5%	90%
Corn	86.2 (81)*	87	90
Cotton	82.5	90	90
Peanuts	86	90	90
Rice	82.7 (75)*	86	91
Tobacco	90	91	90

*Figures in parentheses are price support levels originally announced for 1956 crops. Following the President's veto of a 1956 bill restoring rigid price supports, Benson raised these support levels "in an effort to improve farm income."

In action on other commodities, Benson:

Increased price supports on wool from 90 percent to 106 percent of parity for 1955 and 1956.

Reduced price supports on dairy products from 90 percent to 75 percent of parity in 1954, slightly raised them in 1955 and again in 1956.

Continued to support prices of other non-basic commodities, but generally reduced support levels.

Congress

• **BASIC COMMODITIES** -- Enacted, in 1954, the flexible price support law recommended by President Eisenhower. Supports on five basics were set on a "sliding scale" ranging from 82.5 percent to 90 percent of parity for 1955 crops, from 75 percent to 90 percent thereafter. Price supports on tobacco were continued at a minimum of 90 percent of parity. The flexible system was opposed by a majority of Democrats, supported by most Republicans. In 1956, a Democratic-backed bill was vetoed that would have restored 90 percent supports on 1956 crops of the five basics and established "two-price" plans for wheat and rice under which the domestic quota of a farmer's crop would be supported at a higher level than the export quota. President Eisenhower termed the price support provisions "unacceptable." House Democrats were unable to muster the necessary two-thirds vote to override the veto. Congress then enacted a revised farm bill that retained the flexible support system and gave the Secretary of Agriculture discretionary authority to establish a two-price plan for rice. (Both 1956 bills authorized the soil bank program; see fact sheet page 3)

• **WOOL** -- Authorized, in 1954, with bipartisan support, direct cash payments to producers to compensate for gaps between the support level -- 60 percent to 110 percent of parity -- and the price on the free market.

• **DAIRY PRODUCTS** -- In 1954, Democratic efforts to increase the minimum price support level for dairy products were rejected by most Republicans. The 1956 farm bill vetoed by the President would have raised the minimum support level for dairy products; the revised bill did not contain this provision.

• **OTHER COMMODITIES** -- Efforts to establish mandatory price supports for small feed grains were rejected in 1954. In 1956, mandatory price supports were established for 1956 crops of small grains and for corn grown outside the commercial corn area. In both years, mandatory price supports were opposed by most Republicans, supported by the majority of Democrats.

In 1954, the Senate rejected an amendment to establish minimum 80 percent of parity price supports for beef cattle. In 1956, the Senate again rejected an amendment to require price supports on hogs and beef cattle. In both years, the amendments were opposed by most Republicans, supported by most Democrats.

In 1954, the ban against direct price supports for Irish potatoes was repealed, and supports up to 90 percent of parity were authorized, with bipartisan support.

• **PRICE SUPPORT LIMIT** -- The Senate, in 1956, rejected an amendment to limit the total price support payments to any one farmer to \$50,000 a year. A majority of Republicans supported the amendment, most Democrats were opposed.

Votes

Establish "flexible" price supports for five basic commodities. Senate accepted in 1954, 49-44 (D 10-35; R 39-8). House accepted in 1954, 228-170 (D 45-147; R 182-23).

Restore rigid 90-percent-of-parity price supports on five basics, raising minimum supports on dairy products. House passed in 1955, 206-201 (D 185-29; R 21-172).

Delete provisions restoring rigid 90 percent price supports on basics. Senate deleted provisions in 1956, 54-41 (D 13-35; R 41-6), but a Senate-House conference committee subsequently restored them.

Recommit conference report on farm bill with instructions to substitute flexible price supports for 1956 crop of basics, eliminate mandatory supports for feed grains, two price plans for wheat and rice. House rejected recommitment motion in 1956, 181-238 (D 14-211; R 167-27). (The conference report subsequently was accepted by the House and Senate, but the bill was vetoed by the President.)

Increase minimum price support level for dairy products from 75 percent to 80 percent of parity. Senate rejected in 1954, 44-48 (D 33-11; R 10-37).

Delete provisions for mandatory price supports on small feed grains. Senate deleted provisions in 1954, 52-29 (D 14-24; R 38-5). Senate refused to delete these provisions in 1956, 39-44 (D 8-31; R 31-13).

Establish minimum 80 percent of parity price supports for beef cattle. Senate rejected in 1954, 23-62 (D 20-18; R 2-44).

Require price supports on hogs and beef cattle. Senate rejected in 1956, 32-61 (D 31-15; R 1-46).

Limit total price support payments to any one farmer to \$50,000 a year. Senate rejected in 1956, 28-43 (D 7-26; R 21-17).

Soil Bank

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We pledge to support continued improvements in the soil bank program passed by the Democratic 84th Congress.... We deplore the diversion of this conservation program into a direct vote-buying scheme."

1956 Republican -- "Our Republican Administration fostered a constructive soil bank program further to reduce surpluses and to permit improvement of our soil, water and timber resources. The Democrat party tactics of obstruction and delay have prevented our farm families from receiving the full benefits of this program in 1956."

1952 Democratic -- No mention except to pledge to "accelerate soil conservation."

1952 Republican -- No mention except to "support expanded soil conservation."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

President Eisenhower in January, 1956, proposed legislation to set up a voluntary soil bank program designed to reduce farm surpluses and promote soil conservation by paying farmers to stop planting crops on part of their land. The two-part plan called for: (1) An immediate acreage reserve program to encourage voluntary reductions in the acreage of crops in serious surplus. Participants would receive certificates -- payable in cash or in commodities -- equal to a percentage of the value of the crop normally harvested on the retired land, (2) A long-range conservation program to encourage growers of any crop to take poor land out of production and substitute conservation measures. The government would pay for the initial cost of the operation and annually would pay farmers who agreed to keep conservation acres out of production for a specified period.

In April, 1956, the President vetoed a Democratic-backed bill authorizing the soil bank program and providing a return to rigid price supports and other features which the President termed "unacceptable." (See Price Supports, page 2). The President then asked Congress to pass a "straight soil bank bill as quickly as possible," and to authorize advance payments under soil bank contracts so that eligible farmers could receive at least 50 percent of their payment "immediately after July 1, 1956."

Congress

Two bills authorizing the soil bank program recommended by the President were passed in 1956. The first bill, sent to the President in April, was vetoed because of its price support provisions (see above). Congress then completed action May 23 on a second soil bank bill from which most of the provisions objectionable to the President had been eliminated. The measure authorized total annual payments of up to \$750 million for the acreage reserve and \$450 million for the conservation reserve. The soil bank portions of both bills were enacted with bipartisan support, although the parties differed on other provisions.

A majority of House Democrats defeated an attempt to incorporate the President's advance payment proposal in the second bill, and this provision was not considered in the Senate. The final bill provided that payments could be made in 1956, but not until a farmer had complied with the acreage reduction requirements for the year.

Vote

Recommit second farm bill with instructions to incorporate an advance payment provision for the soil bank program. House rejected motion to recommit, 184-211 (D 1-207; R 183-4) in 1956.

Education and Welfare

Education

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "Federal aid (to education) and action should be provided, within the traditional framework of state and local control. We pledge the Democratic party to...legislation providing federal financing to assist states and local communities to build schools...."

1956 Republican -- "The Republican Administration urged (in 1956) 'a five-year program of federal assistance in building schools to relieve a critical classroom shortage. The Republican party will renew its efforts to enact a program based on sound principles of need and designed to encourage increased state and local efforts to build more classrooms.'"

1952 Democratic -- "We urge that federal contributions be made available to state and local units which adhere to basic minimum standards.... We pledge immediate consideration for those school systems which need further legislation to provide federal aid for new school construction, teachers' salaries and school maintenance and repair...."

1952 Republican -- "The tradition of popular education, tax supported and free to all, is strong with our people. The responsibility for sustaining this system of popular education has always rested upon the local communities and the states. We subscribe fully to this principle."

Administration

• **SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION** -- Requested in 1955 a program of federal aid for construction of school buildings through purchase of local school bonds, support of a lease-purchase plan and grants-in-aid of \$200 million in three years for impoverished school districts. Revised the proposal in 1956 and requested a five-year program including \$1.25 billion in matching grants to states for school construction in financially needy districts. Grants would be allocated on the basis of need, with low-income states receiving a

Platforms-Performances - 4

larger share of federal funds than high-income states. President Eisenhower said he opposed tying anti-segregation amendments to a school construction bill.

Congress

• **SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION** -- Deferred action in 1955 on a Democratic-backed bill to establish a four-year program of federal aid through bond purchases, support of lease-purchase plans and \$1.6 billion in grants to states to be allocated on the basis of school-age population. In 1956, a majority of House Republicans joined a large minority of Democrats to defeat the measure. Before its rejection, Democrats defeated a motion to substitute the Administration's formula for allotting funds on the basis of need, and a majority of Republicans voted to attach an amendment barring federal funds to any state operating racially segregated schools. The Senate took no action on school construction legislation.

• **OIL-FOR-EDUCATION** -- A Senate amendment which eventually would have earmarked federal oil and mineral revenues from the continental shelf for aid to education was deleted by a conference committee in 1953.

Votes

Amend school construction bill to bar federal funds to states operating racially segregated schools. Amendment accepted by House in 1956, 225-192 (D 77-146; R 148-46).

Substitute Administration plan, including apportionment on basis of need rather than population, for Democratic bill. Rejected in House, 1956, 158-262 (D 9-215; R 149-47).

Pass school construction bill. Rejected in House, 1956, 194-224 (D 119-105; R 75-119).

Dedicate federal revenues from oil and mineral leases on the continental shelf to defense during national emergency, thereafter to education. Agreed to in Senate, 1953, 45-37 (D 34-7; R 11-30); subsequently deleted in conference.

Social Security

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We shall continue our efforts to broaden and strengthen (the social security)...program by increasing benefits to keep pace with improving standards of living; by raising the wage base upon which benefits depend; and by increasing benefits for each year of covered employment...."

1956 Republican -- "We shall continue to seek extension and perfection of a sound Social Security system."

1952 Democratic -- "We favor further strengthening of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, through...increasing benefits, extending them to more people, and lowering the retirement age for women. We favor the complete elimination of the work clause.... Those contributing...should be permitted to draw benefits upon reaching the age of eligibility and still continue to work."

1952 Republican -- "The best assurance of preserving the benefits for which the worker paid is to stop the inflation which causes...loss of purchasing power, and that we propose to do. We favor amendment of the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance system to provide coverage for those justly entitled to it but who are excluded...."

Administration

• **COVERAGE** -- Requested in 1954 extension to 10.5 million workers, including domestics, lawyers, architects, physicians, dentists, self-employed farmers, farm laborers not already covered, clergymen and state and local government employees. Requested, in 1956, extension to self-employed groups, government workers and other workers not yet covered.

• **BENEFITS** -- Requested increases in minimum and maximum monthly payments. Opposed in 1955 and 1956 Democratic proposals to pay benefits to disabled workers at age 50, instead of 65.

• **"WORK CLAUSE"** -- Requested revision to permit earnings of as much as \$1,000 a year without loss of benefit payments.

• **BENEFITS FOR WOMEN** -- Opposed in 1955 and 1956 Democratic proposals to make women eligible for benefits at age 62, instead of 65.

Congress

• **COVERAGE** -- Extended OASI in 1954 to about 10 million additional workers, including self-employed farmers, state and local government employees, farm workers, domestic workers and ministers. Omitted coverage of physicians, lawyers, dentists and certain other self-employed professionals. Extended coverage in 1956 to lawyers, dentists, share-croppers, certain Tennessee Valley Authority and Federal Home Loan Bank employees and most self-employed professionals except physicians. The 1954 and 1956 bills were supported by majorities of both parties. Congress failed to act on social security coverage for federal workers.

• **BENEFITS** -- In 1954 increased monthly payments to \$30 minimum and \$108.50 maximum for individuals, and to a maximum of \$200 for families. Both parties supported this. In 1956, enacted Democratic-backed proposal providing benefits to fully insured, totally and permanently disabled workers at age 50, instead of 65. The disability provision was supported by a majority of Senate Democrats, opposed by a majority of Senate Republicans. No separate vote on disability was taken by the House.

• **"WORK CLAUSE"** -- In 1954 increased to \$1,200 the amount a retired person might earn without losing benefits; removed the earnings limitation for workers at age 72. Both parties supported this.

• **BENEFITS FOR WOMEN** -- In 1956 enacted Democratic-backed proposal making women eligible for OASI benefits at age 62, instead of 65. A majority of both parties supported it.

Votes

Extend social security coverage, lower eligibility age for women and disabled workers. House passed in 1955, 372-31 (D 203-8; R 169-23).

Amend social security bill to provide benefits to disabled workers at age 50, instead of 65, set up separate trust fund for disability payments and increase OASI taxes. Senate accepted, 1956, 47-45 (D 41-7; R 6-38).

Amend social security bill to make benefits available to women at age 62, instead of 65. Senate accepted in 1956, 86-7. (D 46-2; R 40-5).

Pass social security bill extending coverage and lowering eligibility age for women and disabled workers. Senate passed, 1956, 90-0 (D 45-0; R 45-0).

Health

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We pledge ourselves to initiate programs of federal financial aid, without federal controls, for medical education. We pledge continuing and increased support for hospital construction programs, as well as increased federal aid to public health services, particularly in rural areas.... We shall continue to support vigorously all efforts, both public and private, to wage relentless war on diseases which afflict the bodies and minds of men."

1956 Republican -- "We have fully resolved to continue our steady gains in man's unending struggle against disease and disability.... Republican leadership has enlarged federal assistance for construction of hospitals,...and increased federal aid for medical care of the needy. We have asked the largest increase in research funds ever sought in one year to intensify attacks on cancer, mental illness, heart disease and other dread diseases. We demand once again, despite the reluctance of the Democrat 84th Congress, federal assistance to help build facilities to train more physicians and scientists. We have encouraged a notable expansion and improvement of voluntary health insurance, and urge that reinsurance and pooling arrangements be authorized to speed this progress."

1952 Democratic -- "We pledge...support for the campaign that modern medicine is waging against mental illness, cancer, heart disease.... We advocate federal aid for medical education to

help overcome the growing shortages of...trained health personnel We pledge support for federal aid to hospital construction... increased federal aid to promote public health through preventive programs and health services, especially in rural areas.... We also advocate a resolute attack on the heavy financial hazard of serious illness."

1952 Republican -- "We recognize that the health of our people as well as their proper medical care cannot be maintained if subject to federal bureaucratic dictation. There should be a just division of responsibility between government, the physician, the voluntary hospital and voluntary health insurance. We are opposed to federal compulsory health insurance.... We shall support those health activities by government which stimulate the development of adequate hospital services without federal interference in local administration. We favor support of scientific research... encouragement of improved methods of assuring health protection."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **HEALTH INSURANCE** -- Proposed, in 1954, 1955 and 1956, legislation to establish a federal reinsurance fund to encourage private voluntary insurance plans to expand coverage of severe illness, and low-income and rural groups. Near the close of the 1956 session, proposed legislation to permit smaller health insurance companies or non-profit associations to pool their resources and experience in developing improved health insurance coverage.

• **HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION** -- Proposed legislation to stimulate state, local and private construction of hospitals, clinics and nursing homes through expanded federal grants and mortgage insurance of private loans. After cutting the fiscal 1954 budget, steadily increased budget requests, from fiscal 1955-1957, for funds for federal grants-in-aid for construction of hospitals and public health centers. Requested extension, through 1959, of the Hill-Burton hospital construction act of 1946.

• **RESEARCH** -- Cut the fiscal 1954 budget, then steadily increased budget requests, from fiscal 1955-1957, for funds for research by the National Institutes of Health on cancer, mental health, heart disease and other illnesses. Requested, in 1956, legislation to provide federal matching grants to non-federal institutions for construction of medical research facilities. The proposal was part of a five-year, \$250 million program calling for aid for construction of teaching, as well as research facilities.

• **HEALTH PERSONNEL** -- Proposed, in 1955 and 1956, legislation providing federal grants for training graduate nurses, practical nurses and public health specialists. Requested legislation in 1956 to provide federal matching grants to non-federal medical institutions for construction of teaching facilities. (See Research above)

• **OTHER PROGRAMS** -- Proposed legislation to increase federal aid to state vocational rehabilitation programs, a new program of mental health grants and a new program providing federal matching of expenditures for medical care of persons on state and local relief rolls.

Congress

• **HEALTH INSURANCE** -- Led by a majority of Democrats, the House in 1954 killed a bill to establish federal reinsurance of private health insurance systems; Congress took no action on reinsurance proposals in 1955 and 1956. Legislation to permit risk-pooling of insurance companies was not acted on in 1956.

• **HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION** -- Extended through June 30, 1959, the Hill-Burton Act of 1946 authorizing federal aid to the states for hospital construction. A new program of aid to states was authorized in 1954 for surveys and construction of hospitals for the chronically ill, rehabilitation facilities, nonprofit nursing homes and diagnostic or treatment centers. Both measures received bipartisan support. No action was taken in 1955 or 1956 on the Administration proposal for federal mortgage insurance of private loans for construction of medical facilities. Annual appropriations voted for federal aid for hospital construction, compared to the \$75 million appropriated in 1952 for fiscal 1953:

Fiscal 1954, decreased 13 percent to \$65 million.
Fiscal 1955, increased 28 percent to \$96 million.

Fiscal 1956, increased 48 percent to \$111 million.

Fiscal 1957, increased 67 percent to \$125 million.

Except for the fiscal 1954 appropriation, when Democrats led an attempt to increase hospital construction funds, all appropriations were voted with bipartisan support and were several million dollars below Administration budget requests.

• **RESEARCH** -- Authorized in 1956, with bipartisan support, a three-year, \$90 million program of federal matching grants for construction of non-federal facilities for research into various crippling and killing diseases. Appropriations voted for the National Institutes of Health -- which conducts federal medical research programs -- compared to the \$59 million appropriated for fiscal 1953:

Fiscal 1954, increased 20 percent to \$71.2 million.

Fiscal 1955, increased 38 percent to \$81.3 million.

Fiscal 1956, increased 73 percent to record \$102.2 million.

Fiscal 1957, increased 212 percent to new record of \$184.4 million.

All research appropriations were voted with bipartisan support and were higher than Administration budget requests, with the biggest increase in fiscal 1957 when Congress voted \$57.9 million more than requested.

• **HEALTH PERSONNEL** -- Deferred action in 1955, then authorized in 1956 an Administration-backed program to increase health personnel by establishing federal programs for training professional nurses and public health specialists and by providing up to \$5 million annually in matching grants to states for training practical nurses. Both parties supported the program. No action was taken in 1956 on the Administration proposal to provide federal grants to medical institutions for construction of teaching facilities.

• **OTHER PROGRAMS** -- Authorized in 1955, with bipartisan support, a three-year \$1.25 million program of federal aid for a nationwide study of mental health problems. Enacted, with bipartisan support, the following Administration-sponsored proposals:

Increased federal aid for state vocational rehabilitation programs -- including training of doctors and other technicians. (1954)

Special federal grants for investigations and experiments in the mental health field, particularly projects to improve state institutions for the mentally ill.

A new program providing federal matching of state and local expenditures for medical care of public assistance recipients (persons on relief rolls).

Vote

Recommit (kill) bill to establish federal reinsurance of private health insurance plans. Recommended in House in 1954, 238-134 (D 162-14; R 75-120)

Housing

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We pledge...immediate revival of the basic housing program enacted...1949, to expansion of this program as our population and resources grow and to additional legislation to provide housing for middle-income families and aged persons.... We favor increasing the federal share of the cost of (federal urban redevelopment and renewal) programs.... We pledge that the housing insurance and mortgage guarantee programs will be redirected in the interest of the home owner and that the availability of low-interest housing credit will be kept consistent with the expanding housing needs of the nation.... We favor providing aid to urban and suburban communities in better planning for their future development and redevelopment.... The Republican Administration has sabotaged (the goal of the 1949 Housing Act) by reducing the public housing program to a fraction of the nation's need."

1956 Republican -- "We are proud of and shall continue our far-reaching and sound advances in matters of basic human needs (including)...improved housing.... We have supported measures that have made more housing available than ever before in history, reduced urban slums in local-federal partnership, stimulated record home ownership and authorized additional low-rent public housing."

1952 Democratic -- "We pledge ourselves to the fulfillment of the programs of private housing, public low-rent housing, slum clearance, urban redevelopment...as authorized by the Housing Act of 1949...to enact additional legislation to promote housing required for...middle-income families, aged persons...."

1952 Republican -- "With local cooperation we shall aid slum clearance."

Administration

• **PUBLIC HOUSING** -- Asked Congress in 1953 for authority to contract for 35,000 new public housing units in fiscal 1954. The fiscal 1953 authorization had been 35,000 units. Proposed in 1954 a four-year authorization of 140,000 units at the rate of 35,000 per year. Proposed in 1955 and 1956 a two-year 70,000-unit program for low-income families and persons displaced by slum clearance and urban renewal operations.

• **PRIVATE HOUSING** -- Made annual proposals for additional funds to increase the general mortgage authority of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Proposed the following legislation modifying government programs affecting private housing:

Increase the maximum amount of FHA-insurable loans on new and existing homes and liberalize maximum terms on loans for existing homes to level comparable with new homes (1954).

Increase the maximum size and maturity of FHA loans for home repair and modernization (1954 and 1956).

Authorize FHA to insure mortgages -- with minimum down payments and long maturities -- on low-cost sales and rental housing for low-income families displaced by slum clearance and other public programs (1954); liberalize terms on such loans (1956).

Give the President "greater latitude" in the use of his power to vary, in the light of economic conditions, the terms and interest rates on all government-backed home mortgages (1954 and 1955).

Reorganize the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA) as a secondary market financed largely by private funds (1954).

Took the following administrative actions affecting financing of government-backed housing loans:

1953: Increased the interest rate on Veterans' Administration guaranteed loans from 4 percent to 4½ percent; on FHA-insured loans from 4-1/4 percent to 4½ percent.

1955: Reduced from 30 years to 25 years the maximum maturity on FHA and VA insured on guaranteed mortgages; raised the minimum down payment under VA programs from zero to 2 percent and on FHA loans from 5 percent to 7 percent.

1956: In January, removed the 25-year maturity limitation, permitting 30-year FHA and VA loans. In September, reduced the minimum down payment on low-cost homes insured by FHA (reversing the 1955 action), and announced other measures aimed at easing credit for builders and buyers of lower-priced homes.

• **SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT** -- Proposed legislation in 1954 to provide an expanded program of federal loans and grants, and new authority for FHA insurance of private credit for elimination of slums and rehabilitation of neighborhoods. Requested increased federal funds for the program in 1955. Proposed, in 1954, \$5 million in "urban planning grants" to states and metropolitan areas to assist planning for arresting the spread of slums; proposed, in 1956, increasing such grants to \$10 million.

• **HOUSING FOR THE AGED** -- Proposed, in 1956, legislation to promote construction of housing for the elderly and to make it easier for them to buy or rent housing.

Congress

• **PUBLIC HOUSING** -- Authorized contracts for construction of the following number of new public housing units (in each case, for the ensuing fiscal year): 1953, 20,000 units; 1954, 35,000, restricted to communities with "workable" programs for slum prevention and clearance; 1955, 45,000, no restriction; 1956, 70,000 (35,000 per year for the next two fiscal years), restricted as in 1954. The annual authorizations resulted from compromises between the House -- where most Republicans voted consistently to end public housing, while most Democrats voted to continue it; and the Senate -- where both parties favored continuing the program but differed on the size. Led by Democrats, the Senate in

1955 and 1956 approved the public housing program of the 1949 Act (135,000 units a year to a total of 810,000), despite GOP efforts to substitute the Administration's program; however, the expanded program did not survive the ensuing Senate-House compromises.

• **PRIVATE HOUSING** -- With bipartisan support, enacted annual increases in the FHA general mortgage insurance authorization. Amended federal housing legislation in the following ways -- in each case with the support of both parties:

In 1954, liberalized terms on FHA-insured loans for new housing by: increasing the maximum amount of FHA insurable mortgages (up to \$20,000), authorizing lower down payments (minimum of 5 percent), lower monthly payments and longer maturities (up to 30 years). Authorized comparable terms on loans for purchase of old homes.

In 1956, authorized FHA to increase the maximum size and maturity of loans for home repair and modernization.

In 1954, authorized FHA to insure loans on low-cost sales and rental housing for low-income families displaced by slum clearance programs; liberalized the program in 1956 to permit longer maturities (up to 40 years) and \$200 down payments.

Rejected, in 1954 and 1955, the President's request for greater latitude in adjusting -- to meet market conditions -- interest rates and other terms on government-backed mortgages.

Reorganized the Federal National Mortgage Association in 1954, providing for gradual liquidation of the government's investment and its replacement by private funds.

• **SLUM CLEARANCE AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT** -- In 1954, expanded the existing federal program by making loans and grants available for urban renewal projects as well as slum clearance upon submission of workable local plans. Authorized a new program for FHA insurance of private credit for construction and rehabilitation of homes in blighted -- pre-slum -- areas. In 1955, increased by \$500 million the authorization for federal assistance to slum clearance and urban renewal programs through fiscal 1957. Authorized in 1954 \$5 million in urban planning grants; increased the authorization to \$10 million in 1956.

• **HOUSING FOR THE AGED** -- Authorized, in 1956: Priority to the elderly in admittance to public housing projects; liberalized FHA mortgage insurance on rental housing designed for old people and constructed by non-profit organizations; authority for third parties to cosign and guarantee payments on FHA-backed loans on houses purchased by elderly people.

Votes

Reduce public housing authorization from 135,000 units annually for four years to 35,000 units a year for two years. Senate rejected in 1955, 38-44 (D 6-35; R 32-9).^{*} Senate rejected again in 1956, 38-41 (D 7-34; R 31-7).^{*}

Eliminate public housing authorization from omnibus housing bill. House accepted (authorization eliminated) in 1955, 217-188 (D 66-152; R 151-36).^{*}

Authorize public housing at rate of 35,000 units annually, instead of terminating program. House rejected in 1953, 157-245 (D 122-69; R 34-176).^{*} House rejected again in 1954, 176-211 (D 127-61; R 48-150).^{*}

Restrict federal public housing grants to communities with "workable" slum clearance and prevention programs. Senate rejected in 1956, 32-44 (D 2-40; R 30-4).^{*}

^{*}Differs from final bill because of Senate-House compromises.

Labor

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We unequivocally advocate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Act must be repealed because state 'right-to-work' laws have their genesis in its discriminatory anti-labor provisions.... Its restrictive provisions deny the principle that national legislation based on the commerce clause of the Constitution normally overrides conflicting state laws.... Upon return of our national government to the Democratic party, a new legislative approach toward the entire labor-management problem will be adopted, based on past experience and the principles of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Law.... We feel it imperative to raise the minimum wage

to at least \$1.25 an hour.... We further pledge as a matter of priority to extend full protection of the (minimum wage law)...to all workers engaged in, or affecting, interstate commerce.... We pledge...to support legislation providing for an effective program to promote industry and create jobs in depressed industrial and rural areas...."

1956 Republican -- "The Eisenhower Administration will continue to fight for dynamic and progressive programs which... will: ...Protect by law, the assets of employee welfare and benefit plans so that workers who are the beneficiaries can be assured of their rightful benefits;...extend the protection of the federal minimum wage laws to as many more workers as is possible and practicable;...provide assistance to improve the economic conditions of areas faced with persistent and substantial unemployment;... revise and improve the Taft-Hartley Act so as to protect more effectively the rights of labor unions, management, the individual worker, and the public. The protection of the right of workers to organize into unions and to bargain collectively is the firm and permanent policy of the Eisenhower Administration."

1952 Democratic -- "We strongly advocate the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.... We advocate legislation that will enable the President to deal fairly and effectively with cases where a breakdown in collective bargaining seriously threatens the national safety or welfare.... We pledge to continue our efforts so that government programs...shall prove a means of assuring minimum wages, hours, and protection to workers consistent with present-day progress."

1952 Republican -- "...We favor the retention of the Taft-Hartley Act.... We urge the adoption of such amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act as time and experience show to be desirable, and which further protect the rights of labor, management and the public."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

- **TAFT-HARTLEY ACT** -- Proposed a series of amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act in 1954 "to further the basic objectives" of the law. Renewed the request in 1955 and 1956, stressing amendments to: protect the right of economic strikers to vote in representation elections; and to equalize the obligation under the act to file non-Communist affidavits.

- **MINIMUM WAGE** -- Asked Congress in 1955 to increase the national minimum wage from 75 cents to 90 cents an hour. Requested, in 1955 and 1956, legislation to extend coverage of the law "as far as is practical."

- **DEPRESSED AREAS** -- Proposed, in 1956, legislation providing federal aid -- through loans and technical assistance -- for redevelopment of areas experiencing substantial and persistent unemployment (so-called "depressed areas").

- **WELFARE PLAN PROTECTION** -- Proposed, in 1956, legislation to require federal registration of private pension plans and welfare funds and reports on their administration and finances -- in order to protect the beneficiaries of such plans.

Congress

- **TAFT-HARTLEY ACT** -- The Senate killed, through recommitment, a 1954 bill to amend the Taft-Hartley Act along lines suggested by the President. Democrats voted unanimously for recommitment; only three Republicans joined them. Congress made no attempt to amend or repeal the Act in 1955 or 1956.

- **RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS** -- Dozens of bills were introduced, but Congress took no action on various proposals to prohibit state right-to-work laws (which ban all forms of labor-management contracts involving compulsory union membership).

- **MINIMUM WAGE** -- With the support of both parties, in 1955 raised the national minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1 per hour. Took no action to extend coverage of the law in 1955 or 1956.

- **DEPRESSED AREAS** -- In 1956, the Senate passed a Democratic-backed aid-to-depressed-areas bill that implemented the President's program but provided more federal aid than he had recommended. A companion bill was reported to the House but no action was taken and the program died in the closing days of the

84th Congress. The Senate measure was supported by the majority of Democrats and by some Republicans, while the majority of GOP Senators opposed it.

- **WELFARE PLAN PROTECTION** -- Took no action in 1956 on legislation to implement the President's proposal for federal regulation of private pension and welfare plans.

Votes

Recommit (kill) bill to revise the Taft-Hartley Act along lines recommended by the President. Recommended in Senate in 1954, 50-42 (D 46-0; R 3-42; one independent voted for recommitment).

Increase minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.00 per hour. House passed, 1955, 362-54 (D 192-29; R 170-25).

National Defense

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "The Republicans have slashed our own armed strength, weakened our capacity to deal with military threats, stifled our Air Force, starved our Army and weakened our capacity to deal with aggression of any sort save by retreat or by the alternatives, 'massive retaliation' and global atomic war.... We reject the false Republican notion that this country can afford only a second-best defense. We stand for strong defense forces so clearly superior in modern weapons to those of any possible enemy that our armed strength will make an attack upon the free world unthinkable, and thus be a major force for world peace. The Republican Administration stands indicted for failing to recognize the necessity of proper living standards for the men and women of our armed forces and their families. We pledge ourselves to the betterment of the living conditions of the members of our armed services and to a needed increase in the so-called 'fringe benefits'."

1956 Republican -- "Our country's defense posture is today a visible and powerful deterrent against attack by any enemy, from any quarter, at any time. We have the strongest striking force in the world -- in the air -- on the sea -- and a magnificent supporting land force in our Army and Marine Corps.... We will maintain and improve the effective strength and state of readiness of all these armed forces. To achieve this objective, we must depend upon attracting to and retaining in our military services vigorous and well trained manpower, and upon continuously maintaining in reserve an enthusiastic and well-informed group of men and women. This will require incentives that will make armed service careers attractive and rewarding. A substantial start has been made toward bolstering the rewards and benefits that accompany a military career. We must continue to provide them."

1952 Democratic -- "The Democratic party will continue to stand unequivocally for strong, balanced defense forces for this country -- land, sea and air.... We will continue to support the expansion and maintenance of the military and civil defense forces required for our national security.... We reject the...view of those who say we cannot afford the expense and effort necessary to defend ourselves."

1952 Republican -- "...We should develop with utmost speed a force-in-being...of such power as to deter sudden attack or promptly and decisively defeat it.... This defense...requires the quickest possible development...of completely adequate air power and the simultaneous readiness of coordinated air, land and sea forces...with atomic energy weapons in abundance.... We shall see to it that our military services are adequately supported in all ways required, including manpower to perform their appropriate tasks.... We shall review our entire preparedness program...strip it clean of waste, lack of coordination, inertia and conflict between the services."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

- **DEFENSE POLICY** -- The President proposed in 1954 a national security program planned "on a long-term basis...(to) maintain essential military strength over an indefinite period of time without impairing the basic soundness of the United States

economy,"...a program "which does not arbitrarily assume a fixed date of maximum danger." Emphasized development of "nuclear-air retaliatory power...as the principal deterrent to military aggression." Advocated "developing military forces which minimize numbers of men by making maximum use of science and technology." The President said in 1956 that the defense program had been "successfully reoriented" on the basis of these policies, which were providing the U.S. "with the greatest military power in its peacetime history."

• **DEFENSE SPENDING** -- The Administration reduced the defense budget below the level spent in fiscal 1953. Total annual defense expenditures, for ensuing fiscal years, compared to the \$43.6 billion spent in fiscal 1953:

1954	\$40.3 billion
1955	\$35.5 billion
1956	\$35.7 billion
1957	\$36.0 billion (estimated)

Spending for all national security programs -- defense, military foreign aid, atomic energy and stockpiling -- continued to account for over half of all federal expenditures. Despite the ending of the Korean conflict, the portion of federal funds spent on these programs remained on a level far higher than that of the last pre-Korea year (fiscal 1950). The percentage of the total U.S. budget spent on national security for the last eight fiscal years:

1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957*
32.5%	51%	67%	68%	69%	63%	61%	59%

*estimated

• **ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE** -- The portion of defense funds spent on the Air Force was progressively increased while Army and Navy budgets were reduced. Net budget expenditures for defense activities of the three services, by fiscal years, in billions of dollars:

	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
				(est.)	(est.)
Army	\$16.2	\$12.9	\$ 8.9	\$ 8.5	\$ 8.6
Navy	11.9	11.3	9.7	9.4	9.6
Air Force	15.1	15.7	16.4	16.0	16.5

• **MANPOWER, DRAFT** -- The active-duty strength of the armed forces was progressively reduced from the fiscal 1953 average of 3.7 million men. The average number of military personnel on active duty, for ensuing fiscal years:

1954	3.4 million men
1955	3.2 million
1956	2.9 million
1957	2.8 million (estimated)

In 1955, the President asked Congress to extend the draft law for four years and to enact a national reserve plan designed to maintain a ready reserve of 2.9 million men.

• **MILITARY BENEFITS** -- From 1954 to 1956, the President proposed a series of measures designed to make military careers more attractive and to halt the "high turnover rate" among armed services personnel.

Congress

• **DEFENSE FUNDS, POLICY** -- Defense policy was debated annually in Congress during consideration of the yearly Defense Department appropriation bills. Democrats generally questioned the adequacy and emphasis of the Administration's defense budgets, but no significant increase in defense money was voted until 1956. Democrats objected in 1953 when President Eisenhower revised ex-President Truman's fiscal 1954 defense budget by cutting \$5 billion from proposed Air Force funds. A majority of Republicans joined a few Democrats in defeating attempts to increase Air Force funds in both the House and Senate. In 1954, controversy centered on the Administration's proposed cutback of two Army divisions, but an attempt by Senate Democrats to prevent the reduction was rejected. Manpower levels were again the subject of controversy in 1955, but the only major attempt to overrule the Administration centered on the Marine Corps. Senate Democrats pushed through an amendment to provide a 22,000-man increase in Marine Corps active-duty strength, and the House upheld the action.

In 1956, Senate Democrats again questioned the adequacy of the Administration's Air Force budget and cited testimony by Air

Force officials that there was "clear evidence of growing Communist airpower." Despite repeated assurances by the Administration that the Air Force budget was adequate and that more money could not be used, Congress approved Democratic-backed Senate amendments increasing Air Force funds by almost \$800 million. Efforts by Senate Republicans to bar the increase and to cut it in half were rejected.

Total regular appropriations for defense voted by Congress, for ensuing fiscal years, compared to the \$46.6 billion appropriated for fiscal 1953:

1954:	\$34.4 billion; 15 percent below President Eisenhower's request.
1955:	\$28.8 billion; 4 percent below request.
1956:	\$31.9 billion; 1 percent below request.
1957:	\$34.7 billion; 1.7 percent more than request.

*Fiscal year appropriations were voted in the preceding calendar years.

• **MANPOWER, DRAFT** -- With the support of both parties, Congress in 1955 extended the draft law for four years -- to July 1, 1959. Congress enacted in 1955 a compromise national reserve plan designed to provide a 2.9 million-man reserve pool. Provisions requested by the President to strengthen the National Guard were not included in the bill because of the threat of an anti-segregation clause that would have affected state National Guard units. The principal new feature of the measure was a six-month training program permitting teen-agers to serve short periods of active duty followed by 7½ to 10 years in a reserve capacity. When the President signed the bill, he said it would strengthen the reserve program but he criticized the absence of provisions to strengthen the National Guard and to authorize the drafting of young men into reserve components and the Guard if quotas could not be filled by volunteers. There were no record votes on the anti-segregation amendment and the compromise bill was supported by a majority of both parties.

Except for the increase in Marine Corps strength voted in 1955, the Administration's annual reductions in the active-duty strength of the armed forces were approved in yearly defense appropriation bills (see above).

• **MILITARY BENEFITS** -- Congress enacted, with bipartisan support, legislation recommended by the President to improve military benefits and pay. The measures and the year in which enacted:

Expanded program of medical care for military dependents, including a new provision permitting care in civilian hospitals for wives and children of active duty personnel. (Enacted in 1956)

Pay raises -- based on rank and length of service -- for enlisted men with more than two years' service and officers with more than three years' service; an increase in special monthly pay for hazardous duty. (1955)

Increased benefits for survivors of servicemen and veterans; provision for 2,850,000 military personnel to be covered under the social security system. (1956)

Increased pay for medical and dental officers in the armed services. (1956)

Authorization for construction of new housing units for military families. (Annual authorizations were voted from 1953-1956)

In addition to the measures recommended by the President, Congress in 1954 enacted, with bipartisan support, legislation providing substantial increases in reenlistment bonuses.

Votes

Increase funds for the Air Force by \$1.2 billion. House rejected in 1953, 161-230 (D 156-33; R 5-196).*

Increase funds for purchase of aircraft by \$400 million. Senate rejected in 1953, 38-55 (D 37-9; R 0-46).*

Increase Army funds by \$350.5 million to prevent cutback of two divisions. Senate rejected in 1954, 38-50 (D 37-10; R 1-40).

Increase Marine Corps funds by \$46 million to provide for 22,000-man increase in active-duty personnel. Senate accepted in 1955, 40-39 (D 37-2; R 3-37).

Increase funds for procurement of aircraft by \$800 million. Senate accepted in 1956, 48-40 (D 43-3; R 5-37).

*One Independent voted, hence party breakdown does not agree with total vote.

Miscellaneous & Administrative

Civil Rights

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. We know this task requires...the cooperative efforts of individual citizens and action by state and local governments. It also requires federal action.... The Democratic party pledges itself to continue its efforts to eliminate illegal discriminations of all kinds, in relation to (1) full rights to vote, (2) full rights to engage in gainful occupations, (3) full rights to enjoy security of the person, and (4) full rights to education in all publicly supported institutions. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court...relating to segregation...have brought consequences of vast importance to our nation...and especially to communities directly affected. We reject all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts. The Democratic party emphatically reaffirms its support of the historic principle that ours is a government of laws and not of men; it recognizes (that)...the decisions of (the Supreme Court) are part of the law of the land."

1956 Republican -- "The Republican party...commits itself anew to advancing the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.... We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the Second Session of the 84th Congress.... The Republican party accepts the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with 'all deliberate speed' locally through federal district courts.... We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the federal government.... The Eisenhower Administration...will continue to fight for the elimination of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry or sex...."

1952 Democratic -- "We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. We know this task requires...the cooperative efforts of individual citizens and action by state and local governments. It also requires federal action.... We are proud of the progress that has been made in securing equality of treatment and opportunity in the nation's armed forces and the civil service and all areas under federal jurisdiction.... We are determined that the federal government shall continue such policies. At the same time, we favor federal legislation effectively to secure these rights to everyone; (1)...equal opportunity for employment; (2)...security of persons; (3)...full and equal participation in the nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints. We also favor legislation to perfect existing federal civil rights statutes and to strengthen the administrative machinery for the protection of civil rights."

1952 Republican -- "All American citizens are entitled to full, impartial enforcement of federal laws relating to their civil rights. We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions.... However, we believe that the federal government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin. We will prove our good faith by: Appointing qualified persons, without distinction of race, religion or national origin, to responsible positions in the government; federal action toward the elimination of lynching; federal action toward the elimination of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting; appropriate action to end segregation in the District of Columbia; enacting federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION** -- President Eisenhower made no legislative proposals until 1956, when he recommended establishment of a bipartisan commission to examine charges of vote denials and unwarranted economic pressures against Negroes, and creation of a separate division in the Justice Department to direct legal activities in the field of civil rights.

In April, 1956, Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. sent Congress draft bills carrying out the President's requests, and urged "consideration" of these additional proposals: Broader statutes to permit federal prosecution of individuals intimidating voters in elections for federal office; authority for the Attorney General to bring civil injunction proceedings in behalf of aggrieved individuals; authority for individuals to take civil rights grievances directly to a federal court; authority for the Attorney General to bring civil suits against civil rights conspiracies, such as attempted jury or witness intimidation.

• **SCHOOL SEGREGATION** -- President Eisenhower made no reference to segregation in his 1955 and 1956 proposals to Congress for school-aid legislation. In other statements, however, he made it clear that he opposed an anti-segregation rider on school-aid bills because he felt it would result in "a confusion of issues" and might delay passage of such legislation.

In November, 1953, the Justice Department urged prohibition of racial segregation in public schools in a brief filed with the Supreme Court.

• **FAIR EMPLOYMENT** -- Created the Government Contract Committee in 1953 to help prevent hiring and firing discrimination on jobs under federal contracts. Strengthened, by executive order in 1954, the non-discrimination clause in federal contracts. Created the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy in 1955 to prevent discrimination against government employees.

• **SEGREGATION IN ARMED FORCES** -- Continued the elimination of segregation. The Defense Department reported that, as of Aug. 31, 1954, there were "no longer any all-Negro units in the services." Ordered the Army, Navy and Air Force to end segregation in all military post schools by Sept. 1, 1955.

• **TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS** -- Successfully urged, in a brief filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1954, an end to racial segregation in interstate travel.

Congress

• **CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION** -- The House passed in 1956 an omnibus civil rights bill carrying out the proposals of the President and the Attorney General. The measure died in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Majorities of both parties supported it in the House, although a large minority of Democrats was opposed. In the Senate, a last-minute parliamentary move to bring the bill to the floor was rejected by a majority of both parties.

• **SCHOOL SEGREGATION** -- In 1956, the House approved an anti-segregation amendment to a bill providing federal aid to the states for school construction. The amendment, which would have barred federal funds to any state not abiding by the Supreme Court decision, was supported by the majority of Republicans, opposed by the majority of Democrats. The school-aid bill was subsequently rejected by the House.

• **OTHER LEGISLATION** -- A Senate committee reported a bill in 1954 to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion or ancestry, but the measure was not brought up for debate. The House Rules Committee refused in 1954 to clear for debate a bill to prohibit segregation of passengers in public vehicles in interstate commerce. An amendment to ban segregation in the National Guard was accepted by the House in 1955, but later was omitted in the revised military reserves bill.

Votes

Pass omnibus civil rights bill to set up bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights, create additional Assistant Attorney General in charge of a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department, provide civil remedies against conspiracies which deprive of civil

Platforms-Performances - 10

rights and provide for civil action by the Attorney General to protect the right to vote. House passed in 1956, 279-126 (D 111-102; R 168-24).

Motion to adjourn for five minutes in order that there be a morning hour -- a parliamentary move to bring the omnibus civil rights bill to the floor. Senate rejected in 1956, 6-76 (D 3-39; R 3-37).

School segregation: for House vote on anti-segregation amendment, see Fact Sheet page 4.

Statehood

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We...pledge immediate statehood for these two territories (Alaska and Hawaii)."

1956 Republican -- "We pledge immediate statehood for Alaska, recognizing the fact that adequate provision for defense requirements must be made. We pledge immediate statehood for Hawaii."

1952 Democratic -- "We urge immediate statehood for these two territories (Alaska and Hawaii)."

1952 Republican -- "We favor immediate statehood for Hawaii. We favor statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

Made annual requests to Congress to grant statehood to Hawaii; urged, in 1956, "progress toward statehood for Alaska."

Congress

The House passed a 1953 bill granting statehood to Hawaii. The Senate amended the House bill in 1954 to include Alaska. The amended version died when the House Rules Committee refused to allow the bill to go to a conference committee.

The House in 1955 recommitted (killed) a bill to grant statehood to both territories. A majority of Republicans generally supported Hawaiian statehood and opposed statehood for Alaska. A majority of Democrats voted to admit both territories at the same time. However, a large minority of House Democrats voted with the Republican majority to kill the joint statehood measure in 1955.

Congress took no action on statehood in 1956.

Votes

Grant statehood to Hawaii. House passed in 1953, 274-138 (D 97-100; R 177-37).*

Amend Hawaiian statehood bill to add provisions granting statehood to Alaska. Senate accepted amendment in 1954, 46-43 (D 42-2; R 3-41).*

Grant statehood to both Hawaii and Alaska. Senate passed in 1954, 57-28 (D 23-19; R 33-9).*

Recommit (kill) bill granting statehood to Hawaii and Alaska. House recommitted in 1955, 218-170 (D 105-107; R 113-63).

*Party breakdown does not agree with total because of vote of an independent.

Loyalty and Security

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We propose...a fair and non-political loyalty program, by law, which will protect the nation against subversion and the (federal) employee against unjust and un-American treatment."

1956 Republican -- "We will continue a security program to make certain that all people employed by our government are of unquestioned loyalty and trustworthiness."

1952 Democratic -- "The loyalty program of President Truman has served effectively to prevent infiltration by subversive elements and to protect honest and loyal public servants against unfounded and malicious attacks."

1952 Republican -- "We will overhaul loyalty and security programs.... We pledge fair but vigorous enforcement of laws to safeguard our country from subversion and disloyalty."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **FEDERAL EMPLOYEE SECURITY** -- The President issued Executive Order 10450 on April 27, 1953, supplanting the loyalty program set up by President Truman. The new order provided for the dismissal of all persons whose employment was not "clearly consistent with the national security." The order classified as "security risks" heavy drinkers and loose talkers, as well as suspected subversives, and extended operation of the security program to all federal employees.

A June 11, 1956, Supreme Court decision held that there was no statutory authority for dismissing federal employees in non-sensitive jobs under provisions of the security program. Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. then ordered federal agencies not to initiate removal proceedings in such instances, pending further study.

• **ANTI-SUBVERSIVE LEGISLATION** -- President Eisenhower in 1954 transmitted to Congress 14 legislative recommendations proposed by Attorney General Brownell to combat subversion.

Congress

• **SECURITY PROGRAM STUDY** -- Congress in 1955 created a bipartisan 12-member Commission on Government Security to study the entire federal employee security program and to report its recommendations to Congress by Dec. 31, 1956. Deadline for the report was extended in 1956 to June 30, 1957. Loyd Wright, Los Angeles attorney, was named chairman of the Commission.

• **SECURITY INVESTIGATION** -- The Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee in 1956 completed an 18-month investigation of the federal employee security program. Its report, from which Republican committee members dissented, was highly critical of the program and recommended that Congress write into law a new program. No further action was taken in 1956.

• **PRESIDENT'S ANTI-SUBVERSIVE PROGRAM** -- Of the 14 recommendations, Congress enacted seven in 1954, one in 1955 and one in 1956. Principal measure enacted permitted federal courts to compel witnesses in proceedings involving national security to testify, despite a plea of self-incrimination, by granting them immunity from prosecution.

• **BAN ON COMMUNIST PARTY** -- Enacted, with only two dissenting votes, a 1954 bill designed to outlaw the Communist party through revocation of its legal rights and immunities. A Senate amendment making membership in the party a crime was toned down in the House, however, and as enacted the bill said the party "should be outlawed."

Taxes and Economic Policy

Taxes

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "A fully expanding economy can yield enough tax revenues to meet the inescapable obligations of government, balance the federal budget and lighten the tax burden.... We favor realistic tax adjustments, giving first consideration to small independent business and the small individual taxpayer. Lower-income families need tax relief.... We favor an increase

the present personal tax exemption of \$600 to a minimum of at least \$800.... We pledge ourselves...to the realistic application of the principle of graduated taxation to...corporate income (of small and independent businesses)."

1956 Republican -- "In so far as consistent with a balanced budget, we pledge to work toward these...objectives: Further reductions in taxes with particular consideration for low and middle income families; initiation of a sound policy of tax reductions which will encourage small independent businesses to modernize and progress; continual study of additional ways to correct inequities in the effect of various taxes."

1952 Democratic -- "We believe in fair and equitable taxation. We oppose a federal general sales tax. We adhere to the principle of ability to pay.... As rapidly as defense requirements permit, we favor reducing taxes, especially for people with lower incomes.... We will not imperil our nation's security by making reckless promises to reduce taxes.... We pledge continued efforts to the elimination of (tax) loopholes."

1952 Republican -- "We advocate...reduction of expenditures by the elimination of waste and extravagance so that the budget will be balanced and a general tax reduction can be made...an immediate study directed toward reallocation of fields of taxation between the federal, state and municipal governments so as to allow greater fiscal freedom to the states and municipalities...(and) a thorough revision and codification of the present hodge-podge of internal revenue laws...."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **TAX CUTS AND REVISIONS** -- Asked Congress in 1954 to overhaul the Internal Revenue Code. The proposed revisions contemplated reduction of individual income taxes by \$585 million and corporation taxes by \$600 million to \$700 million in fiscal 1955. Among the proposed revisions:

Reduce taxes on income from dividends; increase deductions for medical expenses; allow deductions for some costs of child care; exempt portions of retirement income from taxation; liberalize tax treatment of business expenses for depreciation, research and development.

• **TAX EXTENSIONS** -- Asked Congress to: Extend the excess profits tax (scheduled to expire July 1, 1953) to Jan. 1, 1954.

Enact annual one-year extensions of the existing excise tax rates (scheduled for reduction April 1, 1954, unless extended by Congress).

Enact annual one-year extensions of the existing corporation income tax rates (scheduled for reduction from 52 percent to 47 percent on April 1, 1954).

• **TAX STUDY** -- Asked Congress in 1953 to establish a commission to study federal-state-local government relations, with emphasis on taxation problems.

Congress

• **TAX CUTS AND REVISIONS** -- In 1954, enacted the first complete revision of the federal tax code in 75 years, cutting individual taxes \$827 million and corporation taxes \$536 million. Among the revisions:

Reduced taxes on income from dividends, the compromise cut these taxes less than the President had proposed; increased deductions for medical expenses; allowed deductions for some costs of child care; eased taxes on retirement income; accelerated depreciation write-offs.

In 1954, cut excise taxes \$1 billion, despite the President's objection. Both parties supported the reduction.

During consideration of the 1954 revenue-law revision, Republicans defeated Democratic attempts to increase personal income tax exemptions from \$600 to \$700 instead of cutting taxes on dividend income. In 1955, Republicans again defeated Democratic efforts to grant individual income tax credits and to extend corporation and excise tax rates for a longer period than the President had recommended. Congress made no effort to cut income taxes in 1956.

• **AUTOMATIC TAX CUTS** -- Took no action to block the following automatic tax reductions, which resulted from expiration of revenue laws enacted in 1950 and 1951: \$3 billion cut in individual income taxes on Jan. 1, 1954; \$2 billion cut in corporation excess profits taxes on Jan. 1, 1954 (six months later than the original schedule).

• **TAX INCREASES** -- In 1956, enacted the Highway Revenue Act which raised existing taxes and imposed new ones on highway-user items (gas, fuel, tires, buses, trucks, etc.) in order to finance an expanded highway program. The measure increased taxes by an estimated \$600 million in the year beginning July 1, 1956, and provided for a total increase of approximately \$14.8 billion over a 16-year period. Both parties supported the new law.

• **TAX EXTENSIONS** -- Enacted, with bipartisan support: annual one-year extensions of existing corporation income tax rates; annual one-year extensions of existing excise tax rates on alcoholic beverages, gasoline, autos, trucks, buses, automotive parts and accessories and diesel fuel. (The 1956 extension was enacted before the Highway Revenue Act, which subsequently raised excise taxes on some items.)

• **TAX STUDY** -- Established in 1953, with bipartisan support, a Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to study taxation and other problems of federal, state and local government relations. The Commission, reporting in June, 1955, urged Congress to consider the problems of overlapping federal, state, and local taxes.

Congress took no action.

Votes

Increase annual personal income tax exemptions from \$600 to \$700 and delete proposed dividend tax relief. House rejected in 1954, 204-210 (D 193-9; R 10-201). Senate rejected in 1954, 46-49 (D 43-4; R 2-45). NOTE: on both votes, an independent voted for the tax cut, hence party breakdowns do not agree with totals.

Kill proposed \$20 cut in individual income taxes for each taxpayer and dependent. Rejected in House, 1955, 205-210 (D 16-205; R 189-5), but subsequently killed in Senate.

Extend existing corporation and excise tax rates 27 months, and cut individual taxes \$20 for heads of households, and \$10 for dependents. Senate rejected in 1955, 44-50 (D 43-5; R 1-45).

Government Spending

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We pledge ourselves to achieve an honest and realistic balance of the federal budget in a just and fully prosperous American economy.... A fully expanding economy can yield enough tax revenues to meet the inescapable obligations of government, balance the...budget and lighten the tax burden."

1956 Republican -- "We pledge to pursue the following objectives: Further reductions in government spending as recommended in the Hoover Commission Report, without weakening the support of a superior defense program or depreciating the quality of essential services of government to our people; continued balancing of the budget to assure the financial strength of the country...gradual reduction of the national debt.... We shall continue to dispense with federal activities wrongfully competing with private enterprise and take other sound measures to reduce the cost of government."

1952 Democratic -- "We believe in keeping government expenditures to the lowest practicable level.... We pledge ourselves to a vigilant review of our expenditures in order to reduce them as much as possible."

1952 Republican -- "Our goal is a balanced budget, a reduced national debt, an economical administration.... We advocate...reduction of expenditures by the elimination of waste and extravagance...."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **SPENDING** -- Federal spending during the four years of the Eisenhower Administration was cut below the level of the last year of the Truman Administration, but it was generally higher than

during the preceding three Truman years. Total net federal expenditures under both Administrations (by fiscal year, in billions):

	1950	1951	1952	1953
Truman	\$40	\$44	\$65.4	\$74.3
Eisenhower	1954	1955	1956	1957
	\$67.8	\$64.6	\$66.4	\$69.1 (estimate)

• **BUDGET BALANCE** -- The \$9.4 billion deficit in fiscal 1953 was progressively reduced and in fiscal 1956 the budget was balanced for the first time since fiscal 1951. The Administration announced a surplus of \$1.8 billion for fiscal 1956 and estimated a \$700 million surplus for fiscal 1957.

• **NATIONAL DEBT** -- The public (national) debt July 1, 1956, was \$272.8 billion -- 2.5 percent over the \$266.1 billion debt on July 1, 1953. It had been even higher on July 1, 1955, (\$274.4 billion) but had been reduced \$1.6 billion by applying part of the fiscal 1956 budget surplus.

The President asked Congress in 1953 to increase the statutory ceiling on the debt from \$275 billion to \$290 billion. After Congress had refused, the President requested temporary one-year increases, without specifying the amount, in 1954, 1955 and 1956.

Congress

• **APPROPRIATIONS** -- Congress consistently appropriated less money than the President requested, although the size of the cuts grew progressively smaller. Total direct appropriations of new money, by calendar year in which they were voted:

1953, \$54.5 billion -- 8 percent below President Eisenhower's requests and 21 percent below estimates by ex-President Truman.

1954, \$47.6 billion -- 5 percent below President's requests.

1955, \$53.1 billion -- 4 percent below requests.

1956, \$60.6 billion -- 1 percent below requests.

• **NATIONAL DEBT** -- Congress refused the President's request for a \$15 billion permanent increase in the federal debt limit. Despite Democratic opposition, the House passed a 1953 bill granting the increase, but the Senate did not act. Temporary \$6 billion increases -- to \$281 billion -- were granted in 1954 and 1955. In 1956, with a federal surplus in view, Congress authorized a temporary \$3 billion increase -- to \$278 billion. Both parties supported the one-year increases.

Votes

Increase the statutory limit on the public debt from \$275 billion to \$290 billion. House passed in 1953, 239-158 (D 69-125; R 169-33), but the Senate did not act. (One Independent voted yea, hence breakdown does not agree with total).

Power and Water

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We pledge the resumption of rapid and orderly multiple-purpose river basin development throughout the country... (which) will bring into reality the full potential benefits of flood control, irrigation and our domestic and municipal water supply from surface and underground waters... (and will) materially aid low-cost power (and) navigation.... We pledge our aid to the growing requirements of the semi-arid Western states for an adequate water supply to meet the vital domestic, irrigation and industrial needs of the rapidly growing urban centers.... We will take appropriate and vigorous steps to prevent comprehensive drainage basin development plans from being fragmented by single-purpose projects.... We will carry forward increased and full production of hydroelectric power on our rivers and of steam generation for the Tennessee Valley Authority to meet its peacetime and defense requirements. Such self-liquidating projects must go forward in a rapid and orderly manner, with appropriate financing plans.... We shall once more rigorously enforce the anti-monopoly and public body preference clauses.... We shall preserve and strengthen the public power competitive yardstick in power developments under (existing)... and future projects, including atomic power plants, under a policy of the widest possible use of electric energy at the lowest possible cost."

1956 Republican -- "We recognize that the burgeoning growth of our nation requires a combination of federal, state, and local water power development -- a real partnership of effort by all interested parties. In no other way can the nation meet the huge and accelerated demands for increasing generating capacity and uses of water, both by urban and agricultural areas.... We commend the Eisenhower Administration for encouraging state and local governments, public agencies and regulated private enterprise to participate actively in comprehensive water and power development. In such partnership we are leading the way with great federal developments such as the Upper Colorado project and with partnership projects of great importance, some of which have been shelved by the Democratic 84th Congress. In the marketing of federally produced power we support preference to public bodies and co-operatives under the historic policy of the Congress. We will continue to press for cooperative solution of all problems of water supply and distribution, reclamation, pollution, flood control and saline water conversion.... We pledge an expansion in research and planning of water resource development programs, looking to the future when it may be necessary to redistribute water from water surplus areas to water deficient areas."

1952 Democratic -- "We favor sound, progressive development of the nation's land and water resources for flood control, navigation, irrigation, power, drainage, soil conservation.... We favor the acceleration of all such projects, including construction of transmission facilities to load centers for wider and more equitable distribution of electric energy at the lowest cost to the consumer with continuing preference to public agencies and REA cooperatives.... The Democratic party... pledges itself to protect (natural) resources from destructive monopoly and exploitation. We pledge the continued full and unified regional development of the water, mineral and other natural resources of the nation."

1952 Republican -- "We favor continuous and comprehensive investigations of our water resources and orderly execution of programs approved by the Congress... with immediate priority for those with defense significance, those in critical flood and water-shortage areas and those substantially completed. We favor greater local participation in the operation and control, and eventual local ownership, of federally sponsored, reimbursable water projects. We vigorously oppose... efforts... in California and elsewhere to undermine state control over water use... and to establish all-powerful federal socialistic valley authorities."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **RESOURCE POLICY** -- Formulated a "partnership policy" to encourage local public and private interests to develop power and water resources. The policy contemplated federal contributions, when necessary, to pay for features of projects developed for "national purposes, such as flood control," with non-federal payment for and development of other features, such as power. Advocated all-federal construction of projects which, because of "size and complexity, are beyond the means or needs of local public or private enterprise."

The President said in 1955 that "as a result of the partnership policy" and the "willingness" of non-federal groups to "undertake or cooperate in the development of our natural resources, it has been possible to reduce federal expenditures for these programs."

• **RESOURCE SPENDING** -- The rate of federal spending for construction of facilities related to development of water resources and generation of power declined during 1953-1956. Total federal expenditures for construction of such facilities had been \$1 billion in fiscal 1953. Total expenditures for ensuing fiscal years (* indicates estimate by the Bureau of the Budget):

1954	\$917.8 million
1955	\$792.1 million
1956	\$727.6 million*
1957	\$765.9 million*

All types of federal projects are included in these totals. A breakdown of federal spending, by type of project follows:

Construction of multiple-purpose dams and reservoirs with hydroelectric power facilities, for ensuing fiscal years, compared to the \$440 million spent in fiscal 1953:

1954	\$339.2 million
1955	\$281.6 million
1956	\$223.0 million*
1957	\$214.3 million*

Construction of predominantly single-purpose projects -- for flood control, irrigation and water conservation, navigation and beach erosion control -- for ensuing fiscal years, compared to the \$327 million spent in fiscal 1953:

1954	\$223.2 million
1955	\$251 million
1956	\$359.2 million*
1957	\$457.7 million*

Construction of power transmission facilities, for ensuing fiscal years, compared to the \$118.2 million spent in fiscal 1953:

1954	\$117 million
1955	\$ 77.9 million
1956	\$ 66.3 million*
1957	\$ 61.5 million*

Construction of Tennessee Valley Authority steam-electric power plants, for ensuing fiscal years, compared to the \$152.2 million spent in fiscal 1953:

1954	\$238.4 million
1955	\$181.6 million
1956	\$ 79.1 million*
1957	\$ 32.4 million*

• **RESOURCE PROJECTS** -- Administration proposals and action relating to major power and water resource development projects:

UPPER COLORADO -- Asked Congress, in 1954, 1955 and 1956, to authorize comprehensive federal development of the Upper Colorado River Basin in Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming -- the last of the nation's major undeveloped river basins. Estimated cost: \$760 million.

FRYINGPAN-ARKANSAS -- Asked Congress in 1955 and 1956, to authorize federal development of the Fryingpan-Arkansas reclamation project in Colorado. Estimated cost: \$156.5 million.

ST. LAWRENCE: Asked Congress in 1954 to authorize federal construction, in cooperation with Canada, of a St. Lawrence Seaway navigation project. Estimated cost to the U.S.: \$105 million. In 1956, the President proposed legislation to permit the U.S. to deepen and improve the Great Lakes channels to permit accommodation of vessels coming through the St. Lawrence Seaway and provide a connection from all the ports of the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean. Estimated cost: \$110 million.

NIAGARA: Asked Congress, in 1954 and 1956, to authorize non-federal development of a power project at Niagara Falls, N.Y. Took no stand between development by New York State or by private enterprise.

HELLS CANYON: The Interior Department, in 1953, withdrew its opposition -- filed during the Truman Administration -- to private enterprise construction of three dams at Hells Canyon on the Snake River on the Idaho-Oregon border. (Hells Canyon is the deepest natural gorge left undeveloped in the North American continent.) FPC in 1955 approved applications by the Idaho Power Company, a private firm, to build the three dams. Advocates of public power, who favored federal construction of a single high dam at the site, asked FPC to set aside its approval of private construction. FPC denied the request.

• **PARTNERSHIP PROJECTS** -- Proposed in 1955 and 1956, that Congress authorize development of the following projects on a "partnership" basis, providing for federal payment of features such as flood control, and non-federal payment of other features, such as power: Green-Peter White Bridge Reservoir (Ore.); John Day Reservoir (Ore.-Wash.); Bruce Eddy Reservoir (Idaho); Cougar multiple purpose project (Ore.).

• **RIVERS AND HARBORS** -- In 1956, the President vetoed an omnibus bill authorizing \$1.6 billion for federal construction of various navigation, flood control and beach erosion projects. A number of projects in the bill were contradictory to the "partnership policy" of encouraging participation by non-federal interests, the President said, while others had not been given adequate study or had been found "not to be in the public interest."

• **TVA-DIXON-YATES** -- The President in 1954 ordered the Atomic Energy Commission to contract with the Dixon-Yates combine for private-enterprise construction of a \$107 million generating plant to feed power into the Tennessee Valley Authority System

to supply Memphis, Tenn. The power was to replace an equivalent amount of TVA power diverted to an AEC atomic energy plant. The contract aroused the opposition of the state of Tennessee, public power advocates and many Congressional Democrats. They called it an attempt to prevent future expansion of TVA, and challenged it on other grounds, including cost to the government, financing provisions and the method in which the contract had been negotiated. The Administration defended the contract and in 1955 asked Congress to appropriate funds to pay for transmission lines to link the proposed Dixon-Yates plant to TVA. In June, 1955, Memphis announced plans to build its own power plant and the Administration ordered the Dixon-Yates contract cancelled. In November, 1955, the AEC ruled the contract invalid and cited as the basis for its decision the "conflicting private interest" of Adolphe H. Wenzell, who had simultaneously acted as an unpaid government consultant on the accounting system of TVA and as officer of the First Boston Corp., a New York financing firm which represented the Dixon-Yates combine.

From 1953 through 1955 the Administration did not request any funds to start construction of new TVA power generating units. In 1956, the President said additional generating units were needed to meet power needs in the TVA area. He requested legislation to permit TVA to sell revenue bonds to finance such units.

• **POWER MARKETING** -- The Interior Department in 1953 proposed to modify the system by which REA cooperatives and local governments in the Missouri River Basin were guaranteed preference in the purchase of public power. The preference customers were to estimate their future power needs. The Department was to enter long-term contracts to sell to non-preference customers power remaining beyond these estimated needs. Preference customers protested and Congressional hearings were held. The Department revised its policy to limit contracts with non-preference customers to short terms, after which power could be "re-captured" for preference customers.

In 1956, the President vetoed a bill that would have banned, until June 1957, a proposed rate increase for federal power sold to preference customers (public agencies and cooperatives) by the Southwestern Power Administration. The President said the bill would have resulted in a \$2.2 million revenue loss to the government and would have prevented the Secretary of Interior from fulfilling his "obligations" under federal law to fix rates that "return the taxpayers' investment, with interest, within a reasonable period of time."

Congress

• **APPROPRIATIONS** -- Except for TVA, federal agencies that construct and operate federal water and power facilities were generally granted more money by the Democratic 84th Congress than by the Republican 83rd. In no year, however, was there any significant increase over the level of appropriations voted in 1952 (for fiscal 1953), and most appropriations were approved without party line battles. New money voted for TVA was progressively reduced and the smallest appropriations were voted during the 84th Congress.

Total direct appropriations for the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation and the federal power administrations (Southeastern, Southwestern, Bonneville) had been \$848.8 million in fiscal 1953. For ensuing fiscal years they totaled:*

1954	\$614.7 million
1955	\$640.5 million
1956	\$814.6 million
1957	\$860.6 million

Total appropriations for TVA, for ensuing fiscal years, compared to the \$336.1 million appropriated for fiscal 1953:*

1954	\$188.5 million
1955	\$120.0 million
1956	\$ 27.1 million
1957	\$ 5.4 million

*The bulk of funds listed for each fiscal year were approved by Congress in the preceding calendar year.

• **RESOURCE PROJECTS** -- Congressional action on major legislation authorizing water and power projects:

UPPER COLORADO: Enacted, in 1956, legislation authorizing federal construction of a \$760 million Upper Colorado River Basin project to include dams, reservoirs, power plants and transmission facilities. The measure was supported by both parties. Authoriza-

tion bills had been reported to both House and Senate in 1954 but did not reach floor votes.

FRYINGPAN-ARKANSAS: Bills to authorize federal construction of a \$156.5 million Fryingpan-Arkansas reclamation project were passed by the Senate in 1954 and again in 1956, but in both years the measure died in the House when the majority of Democrats, joined by some Republicans, voted against motions to bring it up for consideration. Support was bipartisan in the Senate.

ST. LAWRENCE: Federal construction, in cooperation with Canada, of the St. Lawrence Seaway navigation project was authorized in 1954, with bipartisan support. The measure established a corporation to finance the project by selling \$105 million in revenue bonds to the U.S. Treasury. To accommodate vessels coming through the Seaway, Congress in 1956 authorized, with bipartisan support, deepening and improvement of the Great Lakes channels, at an estimated cost to the U.S. of \$110 million.

NIAGARA: The House in 1953 passed, despite opposition by a majority of Democrats, a bill to authorize private enterprise development of hydroelectric power at Niagara Falls. The Senate did not act on the measure. In 1956, the Senate passed a bill authorizing New York State to construct and operate a Niagara power project, but the measure died in the House Rules Committee. The 1956 bill would have required that preference customers be given priority in distribution of power. The measure was supported by a majority of Democrats, opposed by a majority of Republicans, who either objected to the preference provisions or favored private enterprise development.

HELLS CANYON: Following FPC approval of private-enterprise construction of three dams at Hells Canyon, the Senate in 1956 rejected a Democratic-backed bill to authorize federal construction of a single high dam at an estimated cost of \$500 million. The measure was supported by a majority of Democrats, opposed by a majority of Republicans.

TRINITY RIVER: Congress in 1955 authorized, despite opposition by a majority of House Republicans, federal construction of a \$225 million reclamation and power project at the Trinity River division of the Central Valley project in California.

• **PARTNERSHIP PROJECTS** -- The 84th Congress took no action on any of the four specific partnership projects recommended by the President in 1955 and 1956. In 1956, Congress enacted the Small Projects Act, providing for federal loans and grants to state and local public agencies that undertake the development of reclamation projects costing no more than \$10 million. The measure, enacted with bipartisan support, authorized federal loans and grants of up to \$5 million per project, with grants allocated for payment of features traditionally paid by the federal government (flood control, fish and wildlife benefits). In 1954, Congress authorized, with bipartisan support, non-federal development of projects at Priest Rapids (Washington), Coosa River (Alabama) and Markham Ferry (Oklahoma). Federal payment for flood control and navigation features of these projects was authorized.

• **RIVERS AND HARBORS** -- Omnibus bills authorizing the Army Engineers to construct various flood control, navigation and beach erosion control projects were passed by Congress in 1954 (184 projects) and 1956 (113 projects). Both measures received bipartisan support. The 1956 bill, which authorized 52 projects not recommended by the Administration, was vetoed by the President.

• **TVA-DIXON-YATES** -- During consideration of an atomic energy bill in 1954, the Senate rejected a Democratic-backed amendment aimed at preventing the Dixon-Yates contract. The final bill affirmed the Atomic Energy Commission's authority to contract for private power to replace TVA power supplied to AEC. Two Democratic-controlled Congressional committees held lengthy investigations of the Dixon-Yates contract throughout 1955, with emphasis on the actions and motives of the government officials involved, particularly the role of Adolphe H. Wenzell. Wenzell's "conflicting private interest," as brought out by the investigations, was subsequently cited by the AEC as the basis for its November action in ruling the contract invalid.

During 1953-1956, Congress did not appropriate any funds to start construction of new power generating facilities for TVA, and no action was taken on the President's proposal to permit TVA to finance new units by selling revenue bonds. In 1956, the House Appropriations Committee refused to appropriate funds to start construction of a new power unit and held that TVA could use surplus revenue from the sale of power to finance such units -- a

method advocated by TVA. The Senate disapproved this method of financing and voted for an appropriation, but the final bill upheld the position of the House. TVA then announced plans to start new units to be financed with its revenues. There were no record votes on the issue, so party lineups were not recorded.

• **POWER MARKETING** -- Congress passed, in 1956, a bill banning, until June, 1957, any rate increase for power sold by the Southwestern Power Administration to any public body or cooperative. The measure, aimed at permitting further study before a proposed 40-percent rate increase took effect, was supported by a majority of House Democrats, opposed by a majority of House Republicans. In the Senate, the bill was passed by voice vote. President Eisenhower subsequently vetoed it.

Votes

Authorize federal development of the multi-purpose Upper Colorado River Basin Project. Senate passed in 1955, 58-23 (D 31-15; R 27-8). House passed in 1956, 256-136 (D 136-63; R 120-73).

Motion to consider bill to authorize federal construction of the Fryingpan-Arkansas reclamation project. House rejected in 1954, 188-195 (D 50-133; R 137-62). House again rejected in 1956, 179-194 (D 53-140; R 126-54).

Authorize federal construction, in cooperation with Canada, of the St. Lawrence Seaway project. Senate passed in 1954, 51-33 (D 25-18; R 25-15). House passed in 1954, 241-158 (D 96-94; R 144-64).

Authorize private-enterprise development of a power project at Niagara Falls. House passed in 1953, 262-120 (D 80-101; R 182-18), but Senate did not act.

Authorize New York State development of a power project at Niagara Falls. Senate passed in 1956, 48-39 (D 40-6; R 8-33), but House did not act.

Authorize federal construction of a single high dam at Hells Canyon, at estimated cost of \$500 million. Senate rejected in 1956, 41-51 (D 39-8; R 2-43).

Authorize federal construction of a \$225 million reclamation and power project on the Trinity River division of the Central Valley project in California. House passed in 1955, 230-153 (D 154-54; R 76-99).

Limit the Atomic Energy Commission to buying power only for its own use (an amendment aimed at prohibiting the Dixon-Yates contract). Senate rejected in 1954, 36-55 (D 33-11; R 2-44).

Ban, until June, 1957, any rate increase for power sold to preference groups by the Southwestern Power Administration. House passed in 1956, 201-140 (D 167-66; R 34-134).

*One independent voted, hence party breakdown does not agree with total vote.

Controls

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- No mention.

1956 Republican -- "We have eliminated a host of needless controls."

1952 Democratic -- "We pledge continuance of workable controls so long as the emergency requires them...fair and impartial enforcement of controls and their removal as quickly as economic conditions allow. We strongly urge continued federal rent control in critical defense areas and in the many other localities still suffering from a substantial shortage of adequate housing at reasonable prices."

1952 Republican -- "We shall remove...injurious price and wage controls.... We will oppose federal rent control except in those areas where the expansion of defense production has been accompanied by critical housing shortages.... We believe in combating inflation by encouraging full production of goods and food, and not through a program of restrictions."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **RENT** -- Asked Congress in 1953 to end federal rent control "as soon as practicable," but recommended that controls in defense areas with serious housing shortages be continued beyond June 30, 1953.

• **PRICES AND WAGES** -- Ordered, in February, 1953, termination of all controls over wages and salaries, and removal of price controls in seven steps.

• **DEFENSE MATERIALS** -- Asked Congress in 1953, 1955 and 1956 to extend the Defense Production Act, authorizing the federal government to ration scarce defense materials to industry.

• **CONSUMER CREDIT** -- President Eisenhower, in his 1956 Economic Report, urged Congress to "study the problem of restoring the government's power to regulate the terms of consumer installment credit." Such power, while not now needed, would be useful as a "standby measure" he said.

Congress

• **RENT** -- Ended, with bipartisan support, federal rent controls in all but critical defense housing areas effective July 31, 1953, and extended controls in "critical" areas through April 30, 1954.

• **PRICES AND WAGES** -- The Senate in 1953 voted to authorize the President to impose a 90-day freeze on prices, wages, and rents if Congress should declare war or a national emergency. The authority was included in a bill to extend the Defense Production Act. A majority of Senate Democrats blocked attempts to eliminate the freeze authority, but the House rejected the provisions in an unrecorded vote. A Senate-House conference committee killed the freeze authority.

• **DEFENSE MATERIALS** -- Extended through June 30, 1958, Defense Production Act authorizations for the federal government to allocate scarce defense materials to industry. Both parties supported the extensions, voted in 1953, 1955 and 1956.

• **CONSUMER CREDIT** -- A joint Senate-House committee reporting on hearings on the President's recommendation, said that conditions in 1956 did not call for government regulation of consumer installment credit, but that "unless private enterprise exercises self-discipline, it may be necessary to re-establish standby federal authority in order to protect the overall economy."

Vote

Delete standby wage, price, and rent controls from Defense Production Act extension. Senate rejected in 1953, 26-61 (D 2-37; R 24-23)*; but House subsequently killed the provisions.

*One independent voted against killing controls.

Tidelands

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- No mention.

1956 Republican -- "We have... returned to the states their submerged lands and resources off their coasts, out to their historical boundaries..."

1952 Democratic -- No mention.

1952 Republican -- "We favor restoration to the states of their rights to all lands and resources beneath navigable in and offshore waters within their historic boundaries."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

President Eisenhower asked Congress in 1953 to confirm the states' title to submerged land within their historic coastal boundaries -- known as "tidelands" -- and to reaffirm federal jurisdiction over submerged land in the continental shelf beyond state boundaries.

Congress

Enacted legislation quitclaiming to coastal states the title to submerged lands and natural resources within their historic boundaries. The 1953 bill also proclaimed federal jurisdiction over the resources of submerged lands beyond the states' offshore boundaries. A majority of both parties supported the bill in the House. In the Senate, a bare majority of Democrats were opposed, calling it a "giveaway" to coastal states of resources belonging to the entire nation.

Congress then enacted a separate bill reaffirming exclusive federal control over submerged lands in the continental shelf beyond historic state boundaries. The measure authorized the U.S. to lease the lands to private industry and assigned to the federal government certain royalties from oil, gas, and sulphur production. Both parties supported the bill on original passage, but a majority of Senate Democrats opposed the version that emerged from conference. The conference committee deleted a Senate amendment to earmark federal revenues from the continental shelf for defense during the national emergency and for aid to education thereafter.

Votes

Confirm the states' title to submerged lands and natural resources within their historic boundaries. House passed in 1953, 285-108 (D 97-89; R 188-18).* Senate passed in 1953, 56-35 (D 21-25; R 35-9).*

*One independent voted, hence party breakdown does not agree with total.

Foreign Policy

Foreign Aid

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We will give renewed strength to programs of economic and technical assistance (to underdeveloped countries).... The Democratic party believes the time has come for a realistic reappraisal of the American foreign aid program, particularly as to the extent and conditions to which it should be continued..."

1956 Republican -- "We shall continue to support the collective security system.... Where needed, we shall help friendly countries maintain...local forces and economic strength.... We will continue efforts...to assist the underdeveloped areas of the free world...."

1952 Democratic -- "The continuance of ever stronger and more vigorous Point IV programs -- sponsored both by this country and by the United Nations -- is an indispensable element in creating a peaceful world...."

1952 Republican -- "We shall always measure our foreign commitments so that they can be borne without endangering the economic health or sound finances of the United States...."

PERFORMANCE

The President and majorities of both parties supported continued appropriations for military, economic and technical aid, with the bulk going for military aid to Western Europe, Korea, Formosa and Vietnam. Congress, however, consistently cut appropriations below the President's requests.

Administration

• **AID EXTENSION** -- Asked Congress in 1953, 1954, 1955 and 1956 to renew on an annual basis the Mutual Security Program.

• **LONG-TERM COMMITMENTS** -- Requested in 1956 "limited authority to make longer-term commitments" to certain kinds of foreign development projects "to be fulfilled from appropriations made in future years."

• **STUDY COMMISSION** -- Proposed in 1956 that Congress set up a 12-member commission to review the objectives and scope of foreign aid. Later named a Presidential advisory committee on foreign aid to report in 1957.

• **EXPENDITURES** -- Spent, compared to \$5.7 billion in fiscal 1953: \$4.9 billion in fiscal 1954; \$4.2 billion in fiscal 1955; \$4.2 billion (estimated) in fiscal 1956.

Congress

- **APPROPRIATIONS** -- Renewed the Mutual Security Program on an annual basis in 1953, 1954, 1955, and 1956. Appropriated in new money (compared to \$6 billion for fiscal 1953): \$4.5 billion for fiscal 1954, 12 percent below President's request; \$2.8 billion for fiscal 1955, 19 percent below request; \$2.7 billion for fiscal 1956, 17 percent below request; and \$3.8 billion for fiscal 1957, 22 percent below request.

Reappropriated, in addition to new money above, \$2.1 billion for fiscal 1954, \$2.5 billion for fiscal 1955, \$63 million for fiscal 1956, and \$241 million for fiscal 1957.

- **LONG TERM COMMITMENTS** -- Refused in 1956 to grant the "limited authority" to make long-term commitments requested by the President, a proposal opposed by leaders of both parties.

- **STUDY COMMISSION** -- Refused to set up the study commission proposed by the President, and set up instead a special Senate committee to study foreign aid and report early in 1957.

Votes

Establish a commission to study foreign aid. Senate rejected in 1956, 41-45 (D 0-44; R 41-1).

Increase military assistance from \$1.7 billion voted by House to \$2.3 billion. Senate passed in 1956, 50-39 (D 18-26; R 32-13).

Increase military assistance funds by \$420 million. Senate passed in 1955, 50-38 (D 21-23; R 29-15).

Reduce military aid funds by \$200 million. Senate passed in 1954, 41-33 (D 29-7; R 12-26).

Reduce military aid to Europe by \$500 million. Senate rejected in 1953, 31-52 (D 13-28; R 18-24).

World Trade

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We shall continue to support vigorously the Hull reciprocal trade program...." Administration trade policies have resulted in "serious economic injury to hundreds of thousands of Americans.... We pledge correction of these conditions."

1956 Republican -- "Barriers which impede international trade and the flow of capital should be reduced on a gradual, selective and reciprocal basis, with full recognition of the necessity to safeguard domestic enterprises, agriculture and labor against unfair import competition.... We pledge faithful and expeditious administration of...escape clause and peril point provisions...."

1952 Democratic -- "We vigorously oppose any restrictive policies which would weaken the highly successful reciprocal trade program fathered by Cordell Hull...."

1952 Republican -- "Our reciprocal trade agreements will be entered into and maintained on a basis of true reciprocity and to safeguard our domestic enterprises and the payrolls of our workers against unfair import competition."

PERFORMANCE

After the 83rd Congress had deferred action on a long-range program, the 84th enacted a three-year extension of the President's authority to enter reciprocal trade agreements and added new power to negotiate tariff reductions. Senate Republicans successfully opposed the measure in 1954. Both parties supported it in 1955 after some "protectionist" amendments were added.

Administration

- **RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS** -- Requested in 1954 and 1955 a three-year extension of authority to negotiate tariff agreements, together with authority to negotiate reduction of existing tariffs on a gradual, selective, reciprocal basis.

- **PROTECTION OF U.S. INDUSTRIES** -- Ordered tariff increases for alsike clover seed, watch movements, bicycles and certain kinds of toweling, on recommendation of the U.S. Tariff Commission under "escape clause" authority to protect injured U.S. industries; turned down increases recommended for 10 other items.

- **TRADE COOPERATION** -- Requested Congress in 1955 and 1956 to approve U.S. membership in an Organization for Trade Cooperation to be set up to administer a 34-nation provisional code of fair competition in foreign trade practices.

Congress

- **RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS** -- Enacted one-year extensions in 1953 and 1954 of the President's authority to negotiate; extended his authority for three years in 1955 and granted authority to reduce tariffs on a selective, reciprocal basis over a three-year period.

- **PROTECTION OF U.S. INDUSTRIES** -- In 1955 authorized President to limit imports (such as oil) threatening to impair national security, and broadened definitions of injury warranting relief under peril point and escape clause provisions.

- **TRADE COOPERATION** -- Took no floor action on a bill to approve U.S. membership in Organization for Trade Cooperation.

Votes

Extend Trade Agreements Act for three years and allow gradual tariff reductions. Senate rejected measure in 1954, 32-45 (D 32-6; R 0-39), but passed it in 1955, 75-13 (D 37-6; R 38-7). The House passed the bill in 1955, 295-110 (D 186-35; R 109-75), after defeating a move to limit the President's powers by requiring compliance with Tariff Commission recommendations for relief to domestic industries claiming injury, 199-206 (D 80-140; R 119-66).

Immigration, Refugees

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "The Democratic party favors prompt revision of the immigration and nationality laws to eliminate unfair provisions under which admissions to this country depend upon quotas based upon the accident of national origin...."

1956 Republican -- "We support the President's program submitted to the 84th Congress to carry out needed modifications in existing law.... We believe also that the Congress should consider the extension of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953...."

1952 Democratic -- "We pledge...continuing revision of our immigration and naturalization laws to do away with any unjust and unfair practices against national groups...."

1952 Republican -- No plank.

PERFORMANCE

Administration

- **IMMIGRATION** -- Asked Congress in 1953, 1955 and 1956 to revise the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 to correct "serious and inequitable restrictions."

- **REFUGEES** -- Recommended legislation in 1953 to allow 240,000 refugees to enter the U.S. in two years, in addition to regular annual quota of 154,657 immigrants. Recommended a 10-point legislative program to liberalize Refugee Relief Act in 1955 and again in 1956.

Congress

- **IMMIGRATION** -- In 1956, on the last day of the Session, the Senate passed a measure embodying some of the changes recommended by the President in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 and the Refugee Relief Act. But the measure died in the House.

- **REFUGEES** -- Enacted the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 to admit 214,000 refugees to the U.S. before Dec. 31, 1956, without regard to annual immigration quotas. The measure was supported by most Republicans, by a bare majority of Senate Democrats and opposed by a majority of House Democrats. No House action was taken on the President's 1955 request, repeated in 1956, to liberalize the 1953 act, but the Senate approved some changes in 1957 (See Immigration, above)

Votes

On passage of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, the House passed it 221-185 (D 88-111; R 132-74)*, and the Senate passed it 63-30 (D 24-22; R 38-8).*

*Breakdown does not include vote of one independent.

Disarmament

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "To eliminate the danger of atomic war, a universal, effective and enforced disarmament system must be the goal of responsible men and women everywhere.... We pledge the Democratic party to pursue vigorously this great goal of enforced disarmament...."

1956 Republican -- "President Eisenhower has given the world bold proposals for mutual arms reduction and protection against aggression through flying sentinels in an 'open sky.' We support this.... We approve his determined resistance to disarmament without effective inspection."

1952 Democratic -- No plank.

1952 Republican -- "We shall coordinate our military policy with our foreign policy, always seeking universal limitation and control of armaments on a dependable basis."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

At 1955 "summit" meeting in Geneva, President Eisenhower proposed that the U.S. and the Soviet Union agree to mutual aerial inspection as a first step toward agreement on reduction of arms. Disarmament talks continued in 1956, both in the United Nations and between the major powers.

Congress

A Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee held hearings in 1956 on the subject of disarmament, published various staff studies and prepared a report for submission to the 85th Congress in 1957.

Asia

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We pledge determined opposition to the admission of the Communist Chinese into the United Nations.... We pledge continued support to Nationalist China.... America's task and interest in Asia is to help the free governments...."

1956 Republican -- "We continue to oppose the seating of Communist China in the United Nations.... It would betray our friend and ally, the Republic of China. We will continue our determined efforts to free the remaining Americans held prisoner by Communist China."

1952 Democratic -- "We urge continued effort, by every honorable means, to bring about a fair and effective peace settlement in Korea.... We pledge continuing support for...India and Pakistan.... Our military and economic assistance to the Nationalist government of China on Formosa...will be continued...."

1952 Republican -- "The supreme goal of our foreign policy will be an honorable and just peace (in Korea).... We shall make it clear that we have no intention to sacrifice the East to gain time for the West."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **KOREA** -- President-elect Eisenhower went to Korea to survey the situation late in 1952. An armistice between North Korean Communist forces and United Nations forces was signed July 27, 1953, but negotiations for a peace treaty and unification of North and South Korea failed.

• **NATIONALIST CHINA** -- The President announced in 1953 that the U.S. Navy no longer would block any Nationalist Chinese attacks on the mainland. Signed a Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China in 1954. Asked Congress in 1955 to authorize use of U.S. armed forces, if needed, to protect Formosa and related island positions.

• **DEFENSE TREATIES** -- Signed a Mutual Defense Treaty with Republic of Korea in 1953 and Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (SEATO) with Australia, New Zealand, France, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and the United Kingdom in 1954.

Congress

• **NATIONALIST CHINA** -- Authorized the President in 1955 to use U.S. armed forces to protect Formosa and "related positions and territories." The Senate rejected attempts to narrow the scope of the resolution. It approved the China defense treaty. Congress went on record annually from 1953 through 1956 in opposition to the seating of Communist China in the United Nations.

• **DEFENSE TREATIES** -- The Senate consented in 1954 to ratification of the Korean Mutual Defense Treaty with an "understanding" that it applied only to South Korean territory brought "lawfully" under control of that Republic. The Senate in 1955 approved ratification of the SEATO Treaty. Both actions received bipartisan support.

Votes

On the "defense of Formosa" resolution, the Senate in 1955 rejected a move to eliminate authority to protect "related positions and territories" by a vote of 13-74 (D 12-32; R 1-42), then adopted the resolution, 85-3 (D 42-2; R 43-1). Earlier the House adopted the resolution, 410-3 (D 225-1; R 185-2).

Europe

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "Through the Marshall Plan, the European economic organization and NATO, the Democratic party encouraged and supported efforts to achieve greater economic and political unity among the free nations of Europe.... We will continue those efforts.... We shall press...the principle that Soviet Russia withdraw its troops from the captive countries, so as to permit free, fair and unfettered elections...."

1956 Republican -- "We shall continue to seek the reunification of Germany in freedom and the liberation of the satellite states...."

1952 Democratic -- "We encourage the economic and political unity of free Europe and the increasing solidarity of the nations of the North Atlantic Community.... We will not abandon the once free peoples of Central and Eastern Europe...."

1952 Republican -- "In Western Europe we shall use our friendly influence...for ending the political and economic divisions which alone prevent that vital area from being strong in its own right...."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **EUROPEAN UNITY** -- Following collapse of proposed European Defense Community, supported 1954 agreements setting up a Western European Union to coordinate West Europe's defense forces.

• **GERMANY** -- Signed treaties in 1954 to end occupation and restore sovereignty of West Germany and bring it into NATO.

• **AUSTRIA** -- Signed a treaty in 1955 to end occupation and restore sovereignty of Austria.

• **YUGOSLAVIA** -- Decided in 1956 to continue economic aid to Yugoslavia after concluding that Yugoslavia was independent of Soviet control.

Congress

• **GERMANY** -- Adopted a resolution in 1953 urging free elections in East Germany and German unification. The Senate in 1955 approved ratification of treaties to end the occupation of West Germany and to bring it into NATO. Both parties supported these actions.

• **AUSTRIA** -- The Senate in 1955 approved -- with bipartisan support -- the treaty ending the occupation of Austria.

• **COMMUNIST SATELLITES** -- The Senate rejected -- on a bipartisan vote -- a resolution demanding a Big Four pledge to discuss the status of Communist satellites at the July, 1955, Geneva conference. The Senate then unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the "hope" that rights of self-government would be restored to the enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia.

• **YUGOSLAVIA** -- Congress in 1956 stipulated that foreign aid to Yugoslavia would be terminated within 90 days unless the President informed Congress (1) that there had been no change in Yugoslavian policy toward Russia, (2) that Yugoslavia was not participating in any policy of Communist conquest, and (3) that continued aid was in the national security interests of the U.S.

Middle East

PLATFORMS

1956 Democratic -- "We will urge Israel and the Arab states to settle their differences by peaceful means.... We will faithfully carry out our country's pledge under the tripartite declaration of 1950 to oppose the use or threat of force.... The Democratic party will act to redress the dangerous imbalance of arms in the area created by the shipment of Communist arms to Egypt, by selling or supplying defensive weapons to Israel...."

1956 Republican -- "We support a policy of impartial friendship for the peoples of the Arab states and Israel.... We are determined that the integrity of an independent Jewish state shall be maintained. We shall support the independence of Israel against armed aggression...."

1952 Democratic -- "We favor the development of integrated security arrangements for the Middle East and...continued assistance to Israel.... We pledge aid to the Arab states...."

1952 Republican -- "We shall put our influence at the service of peace between Israel and the Arab states...."

PERFORMANCE

Administration

• **ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT** -- Offered in 1955 to participate in an international guarantee of the Arab-Israel borders if the opposing sides first would come to terms on frontier adjustment and refugee resettlement. Opposed Communist sale of arms to Egypt in 1955. Withdrew in 1956 offer made in 1955 to help finance Aswan Dam in Egypt. Supported United Nations efforts to mediate Arab-Israel conflict.

• **SUEZ CRISIS** -- Following Egypt's decision in July, 1956, to nationalize Suez Canal, urged Britain and France to refrain from use of force against Egypt. Put forward proposal of Canal Users Assn. to bridge impasse between Egyptian control and need for international guarantee of free passage. Sought generally to mediate dispute.

Congress

• **PALESTINE REFUGEES** -- Voted annual contributions -- with bipartisan support -- to the United Nations program for relief of Arabs who had lived in Israel.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUG. 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION OF

CQ Weekly Report published weekly at Washington, D.C., for Oct. 19, 1956.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher, Buel F. Weare; Executive Editor, Thomas N. Schroth; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, Walter E. Thomas; all of 1156 19th St. N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

Times Publishing Company, a Florida Corporation, St. Petersburg, Fla. with these stockholders: Nelson Poynter, Henrietta M. Poynter, Catherine Stephenson, trustee (for Nancy and Sally Poynter), Dorothy McConnie, Tom C. Harris, H.T. Thompson, Alvah H. Chapman Jr., Times Publishing Company Pension Trust Fund (for qualified Times employees), all of St. Petersburg, Florida; Eleanor P. Jamison of Sullivan, Indiana.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: Jefferson Standard Insurance Company, Greensboro, North Carolina; Alice W. Poynter, St. Petersburg, Florida.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.) -- 1600.

(Signed) Thomas N. Schroth
Executive Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of October.

(Signed) Viola W. Spooner
Notary Public, D.C.

(SEAL)

(My commission expires Feb. 28, 1961)

ILA WINS

The National Labor Relations Board Oct. 18 announced that the International Longshoremen's Assn. had again won the right to represent 22,000 waterfront workers in the port of New York. The NLRB said the workers had voted 11,827 to 7,428 in favor of the ILA against the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Longshoremen.

This is the third time in three years that the ILA has beaten challenges by the IBL. The IBL was set up by the AFL as a rival after the AFL ousted the ILA on charges of failing to rid itself of racketeers. (Weekly Report, p. 1159)

NEA ASKS TAX CHANGE

The National Education Assn. Oct. 16 called upon both major Presidential candidates to support changes in federal tax laws that would allow teachers "to deduct their professional expenses in computing their federal income taxes just as other professional persons and businessmen do."

In telegrams sent to President Eisenhower and Democratic party Presidential candidate Adlai E. Stevenson, the NEA said present tax laws do not allow teachers to deduct summer school expenses or the cost of further study to improve their competence. The group said "it is just as important for teachers to continue their professional development as it is for doctors and lawyers to keep up with new medical techniques or legal interpretations. Doctors and lawyers may deduct expenses for attending medical conventions or tax institutes, the NEA said.

NAACP DEFENDED

The Very Rev. Msgr. George H. Higgins, director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Oct. 11 said all "law-abiding citizens" should rally to the defense of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in those states where its right to existence is being assailed.

Msgr. Higgins said the "wisdom, timing and methods of the NAACP in its fight against segregation are open to discussion," but its "right to existence" and its right to seek its objectives are not subject to question. He said that southern state governments which are trying to outlaw the NAACP because of its objectives "are clearly violating one of the most fundamental principles of the natural law...freedom of association." (Weekly Report, p. 949)

UNION ENDORSEMENT

The executive board of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers (Ind.) Oct. 9 unanimously endorsed the candidacies of Adlai E. Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.), Democratic Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees.

The union has an international membership of 60,000 employees in railroads, breweries, dairies and hotels.

The board also endorsed Mayor Robert F. Wagner (D) of New York for the Senate. Wagner was praised for his "interest in the general welfare of the people and organized labor."

NAAM HITS LABOR

Cola G. Parker, president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers, Oct. 15 said "organized labor is boldly attempting to seize political control of the United States."

Parker said "there has been no effort to conceal this power-grab from the nation. What appals me is the stark indifference which prevails over the country." He accused labor of using more than 60,000 full-time paid union officers to further its political aims. "The union objective," he said, "is to elect their own definition of liberal representatives at all levels of government and, if possible, a President and state governors, mayors and other local officials who will be pliable to the demands of Mr. (George) Meany and his associates."

Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, Oct. 15 said that when Parker "wakes up from his nightmare, he will find that the former head of General Motors now runs the Defense Department, that a former financier is Secretary of the Treasury, and that other big business leaders occupy virtually every key position in our national government."

He said "if Mr. Parker thinks labor would like to change the situation he is right, but our political activities are being conducted by fully democratic and legal methods."

TARIFF REVISIONS SOUGHT

The Canadian Exporters' Assn. and the Committee for Economic Development in letters to the House Ways and Means Committee urged Congress to revise its tariff laws.

The Association, which represents 350 exporting manufacturers and related service industries, Oct. 10 said it was "baffled" by Congress' trade barriers to products which Americans buy in volume.

The CED Oct. 15 recommended: extending the President's trade agreement policy for at least five years because the three year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 was "inadequate;" authorizing the President: to reduce tariffs by not more than 5 percent for the life of the Act, to suspend tariff duties on any product not produced in substantial quantity in the U.S., to set aside Tariff Commission decisions under the peril point and escape clause provisions "when he finds the national interest requires it," to change commodity definitions and rates for consolidation and simplification and to base tariffs on as little as 50 percent of a product's value. The CED said legislation of peril point and escape clause provisions "has stiffened rather than liberalized tariff administration...by allowing the Tariff Commission to look for damage in a segment of an industry although the whole industry may be prospering."

In This Section.....(Oct. 12-18)

- Senate Committee Probes Illinois Scandal
- Democrat Criticizes Polio Vaccine Program
- Communism in Hawaii Seen Dangerous to U.S.

POLIO VACCINE

COMMITTEE -- House Government Operations, Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee.

HELD HEARINGS -- On government procurement of polio vaccine.

TESTIMONY -- Oct. 11 -- Chairman L.H. Fountain (D N.C.) of the Subcommittee said "we want to know if there is any violation of the antitrust laws through price fixing. And primarily we are interested in knowing whether the government has taken adequate precautions against paying too much for the (Salk) vaccine." Committee investigators said a study of government purchase contracts showed unit prices for nine-shot vials of the vaccine ranged from \$7.13 in October, 1955, to \$5.70 in June, 1956. They said price bids submitted by manufacturers either were identical in every instance or varied no more than one cent in some instances.

Rep. B. Carroll Reece (R Tenn.) said "I think it's very, very unfortunate that we are put in the position of playing politics with such a service as the Public Health Service which in the whole course of its history has never been involved in politics."

Oct. 12 -- Rep. Chet Holifield (D Calif.) said vaccine manufacturers were guilty of "collusive practices and price fixing" in dealings with the federal government. He recommended investigations into the sale of the vaccine be launched by the Justice Department, Fair Trade Commission, Comptroller General and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Holifield said the health secretary should seek a refund from manufacturers who overcharged the government.

Robert A. Bicks of the Justice Department's Anti-trust Division said an investigation in April, 1955, did not reveal price fixing on the vaccine. Public Health Service officials said the U.S. had spent \$13 million on buying the vaccine direct and another \$19.4 million in cash grants to states which bought their own vaccine.

A motion by Reece to adjourn the hearings on grounds they were strictly political was not seconded.

HODGE EMBEZZLEMENT

COMMITTEE -- Senate Banking and Currency. CONTINUED HEARINGS -- In Chicago to determine the involvement of federally insured banks in ex-Illinois State Auditor Orville E. Hodge's embezzlement of \$1.5 million of state funds. (Weekly Report, p. 926)

TESTIMONY -- Oct. 12 -- John Russell, president of the First State Bank of Elmwood Park, said political contributions from banks were "standard procedure." Russell said he was serving as a Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. attorney when he drew up organization papers for the bank which promised him the presidency. He said he

did not see any conflict of interest in his role as FDIC attorney and prospective bank president. The Elmwood Park bank was closed and then reopened under new management in May, 1953, with Russell as president and ex-Gov. Dwight H. Green as board chairman. S. Edward Bloom, a director of the Elmwood Park bank before its reorganization, said he opposed having the old bank taken over by Hodge and others. Bloom said he signed only after Hodge threatened to send the bank into receivership if he did not sign papers clearing the way for assumption (the legal process where a new bank takes over the liabilities of an old one).

Green testified that \$1 million in state funds were sent to his bank in 1953 by a state treasurer he had helped re-elect. "There's no sense in playing ostrich about this," Green said, "it is perfectly obvious that if someone does you a favor you will reciprocate if you can."

Arthur M. Wirtz, Chicago real estate broker, said in June, 1956, Hodge asked him to buy 11,165 shares of Elmwood Park bank stock held by the then Auditor. "This was the first time I really knew Hodge was the actual owner of these shares," Wirtz said. Wirtz said he paid Hodge \$301,455 for the stock.

Oct. 15 -- Herbert C. Paschen, Cook County treasurer who resigned as a Democratic candidate for governor, said his employee welfare fund was "for charitable bequests to help out, when people were sick or died, for flowers." He said banks contributed to the fund but were not deprived of deposits of state funds if they did not contribute.

Elmer J. Hoffman, former Illinois state treasurer, said he was pressured by politicians and bankers for deposits of state funds. He said "party loyalty" dictated which banks got the most of the state funds. He said a favored bank was the Elmwood Park one "out of deference" to former Gov. Green. He said the Southmoor Bank and Trust Co. got special consideration because of pressure from Hodge and "out of a close personal friendship" for the former president, Edward A. Hintz. (Hodge cashed forged state warrants at the Southmoor bank.)

Frank Fisk, an Elmwood Park bank shareholder, said he contributed to Gov. William C. Stratton's campaign and later succeeded in having \$800,000 in state funds deposited in that bank. He denied there was any connection between the political contributions and the deposit of state funds in his bank.

Oct. 16 -- Hoffman said he increased state deposits in the Granite City (Ill.) Trust and Savings Bank by \$1.6 million in 1953 at the request of Orville E. Hodge, then state auditor.

Oct. 18 -- Gov. Stratton said "I doubt if Hodge would be out of office yet if I had not taken firm effective action. We have already taken steps to see that a repetition of the Hodge case does not occur."

Asked about newspaper accounts that Stratton acted fast to put Hodge behind bars to save other big names from detection, Stratton said, "I think it is a dastardly and infamous inference." Stratton said the governor has no jurisdiction over elective officers, adding he had no reason to suspect anything was amiss in Hodge's office before the scandal broke.

NICKEL PROJECT

COMMITTEE -- House Government Operations, Special Government Activities Subcommittee.

RESUMED HEARINGS -- On the \$43 million expansion of a government-owned nickel project at Nicaro, Cuba. (Weekly Report, p. 198)

TESTIMONY -- Oct. 18 -- Randall Cremer, project manager for the Nicaro nickel plant, said "political pressure did get into this (awarding contracts for the plant's expansion) very early in the game and it was terrible." He said Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall had asked him if employees of the Frederick Snare Corp., of which Cremer was a vice president, had contributed to the Democratic party. Cremer said Edmund F. Mansure, former General Services Administrator, and J.P. Pinkley of the GSA had told him in the spring of 1954 that Hall felt Democratic companies had been favored for federal contracts under Democratic Administrations and it was now time to give Republican firms a chance.

Subcommittee investigators said that after the Snare firm and Merritt-Chapman & Scott were awarded the contract -- worth \$500,000 to each of them -- officials of the Snare company increased their contributions to the Republican party from an average of \$636 a year in seven previous years to \$7,500 in 1954. Cremer said the increased contributions were made because it "looked important to elect a Republican Congress." He said six members of the Senate Appropriations Committee were responsible for Merritt-Chapman getting half the contract, adding Snare should have had it all.

COMMUNISM IN HAWAII

COMMITTEE -- Senate Judiciary, Internal Security Subcommittee.

ACTION -- Oct. 16 released testimony taken from Chairman William B. Stephenson of the Commission on Subversive Activities of the Territory of Hawaii on Communist activity there.

Stephenson said his Commission had found that "the Communist party in Hawaii has long been organized along parallel lines which might best be described as the labor element of the non-labor element. The Communist party itself at one time was divided into two major sections, one the water front section composed almost entirely of labor members, and the other composed of so-called intellectuals and others not affiliated with labor. In our latest report it is shown that the majority of Communist personalities and activities rest within the framework of two unions: International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and the United Public Workers.... The major focus of the Communist problem in Hawaii lies within the leadership class of these two unions.... These Communist leaders have acted in dual capacities. While performing the normal functions of trade union leaders, they have also performed functions on behalf of the Communist party, used facilities and funds of their unions for Communist purposes. For example, the ILWU radio programs have been used to present Communist speakers, union funds have been donated to Communist fronts, and the premises of the ILWU have been made available for functions of a Communist front. ILWU funds have been extensively used to make available Communist propaganda directly to its membership. It is also significant to note that the ILWU has sent Communist materials to the public

school teachers of the Territory of Hawaii. (Harry R. Bridges is president of the ILWU.) The Territory of Hawaii constitutes a region within the organization of the ILWU...headed by Jack W. Hall.... The union here comprises a single body called ILWU, Local 142." Stephenson said the ILWU controlled the majority of longshoremen, sugar and pineapple workers on the islands, or about 22,500 people. Stephenson said the Commission has concluded that Bridges is a Communist. He said that Hall was convicted in 1953 of violating the Smith Act which makes it a crime to conspire to advocate the forceful overthrow of the government. Stephenson said, "In speaking of the control which Communist leaders exert in the ILWU, the Commission has pointed out that if this control were exercised contrary to the best interests of the United States it could not only bring about economic chaos in Hawaii but could adversely affect the war potential and the national security of the United States. Moreover, the Commission has pointed out that continuing Communist control over the ILWU in Hawaii will endanger the national security of the United States in the event of war between this country and the Soviet Union."

Stephenson said because of lack of funds his Commission "will have to close its office entirely and place its records in safekeeping where they will not be available for the purpose for which they were intended." Stephenson said the Commission was the only territorial agency operating in the internal security field. He said the Federal Bureau of Investigation had information about Communists in Hawaii but could not divulge it because law requires the FBI to turn over its information only to the executive branch of the U.S. government.

Committee Briefs

POSTAL PROBE

Chairman Olin D. Johnston (D.S.C.) of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee Oct. 14 said a "cloak of secrecy" has been used by the Eisenhower Administration to try to cover up "a variety of charges of improper actions in the operation of the postal service." His statement followed hearings on alleged selling of postmasterhips by Republicans in Texas. Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield Oct. 15 said Johnston's charges were "one more example of the smear campaign and fakery undertaken by Sen. Johnston" and termed the hearings "an unprecedented misuse of Senatorial investigating power." Summerfield said he had written Johnston Oct. 18, 1955, requesting him to turn over any evidence of wrongdoing in the postal service to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. (Weekly Report, p. 1220)

FOREIGN AID STUDY

Acting Chairman J.W. Fulbright (D Ark.) of the Executive Committee of the Special Committee to Study the Foreign Aid Program Oct. 15 said the Committee had contracted with the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to undertake a study of the U.S. foreign aid programs. The study was authorized by a Senate resolution (S Res 285). The contract with MIT was the eighth one signed. (Weekly Report, p. 789)

PANAMA TRIPS

The government-owned Panama Line Oct. 15 made public the names of three Senators, 16 Representatives and six Congressional committee employees who had traveled free on its ships since Sept. 29, 1955. The passenger lists showed that 35 dependents, paying only 25 percent of usual fares, also traveled on the Line. The list of vessels, sailing dates, and passengers:

Ancon, Aug. 23, 1956 -- Sen. William C. Laird (D W.Va.) his wife and daughter; Sen. W. Kerr Scott (D N.C.).

Cristobal, July 26, 1956 -- J. Don Kerlin, staff member of a Senate committee, and his wife; and Rep. John J. Rhodes (R Ariz.), his wife and three children.

Ancon, June 21, 1956 -- John T. Ridgeley, staff member of a House committee and his wife.

Ancon, March 29, 1956 -- Rep. Frank C. Osmers Jr. (R N.J.), his wife and son. Also, to Haiti, Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D N.Y.) and son.

Ancon, Dec. 15, 1955 -- Sen. Clifford P. Case (R N.J.), his wife, son and daughter; Rep. Frank M. Clark (D Pa.), his wife and two children; Rep. Edmund P. Radwan (R N.Y.), his wife and three children; and Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D N.J.), his wife and two children.

Cristobal, Dec. 8, 1955 -- Robert E. O'Hara, staff member of a Senate committee; Rep. Henry O. Talle (R Iowa) and his wife.

Ancon, Nov. 25, 1955 -- Rep. James A. Byrne (D Pa.) and his wife; Rep. Edward A. Garmatz (D Md.) and his wife; Rep. William T. Granahan (D Pa.) and his wife; Miss Frances Still, listed as a Congressional clerk; Rep. T. James Tumulty (D N.J.) and his wife; Rep. William K. Van Pelt (R Wis.) and his wife; and Bernard J. Zincke, staff member of a House committee, and his wife.

Panama, Nov. 10, 1955 -- Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (R Wis.) and his wife, and Rep. Dean P. Taylor (R N.Y.) and wife.

Ancon, Nov. 3, 1955 -- Rep. A.D. Baumhart Jr. (R Ohio) and his wife; Rep. William E. McVey (R Ill.) and his wife.

Panama, Sept. 29, 1955 -- Robert McManus, staff member of a House committee.

Comments by some of those on the list:

Tumulty -- "I was doing my job, which is to study the operation of the (Panama) Canal."

Mrs. William T. Granahan, widow of Rep. Granahan, said she and her husband had made the trip on their first vacation in 10 years and had paid for it.

Byrne -- "I made the trip as a member of the Panama Canal Subcommittee, sent down by the full Committee to hold hearings.

Osmers -- "I went as a member of the Armed Services Committee to inspect the Canal and its defenses."

McVey -- "I wanted to observe conditions in Guatemala and Panama."

Thompson -- "I paid for the passage of wife and children. Both Senator Case (N.J.) and I spent a number of hours inspecting the Canal.... I feel the trip was extremely worthwhile."

Case (N.J.) -- "It is the only trip I have had in years in the House and Senate."

AID TO YUGOSLAVIA

President Eisenhower Oct. 15 authorized continuance of economic aid to Yugoslavia, but said heavy military equipment would be withheld "until the situation can be more accurately appraised." The President, in identical letters to the Senate and House, said he did not consider that his action "definitely settles the various questions" pertaining to United States-Yugoslav relations. "These problems will, on the contrary, remain under my constant review," he said, to assure that his decision "remains justified in future circumstances."

Congress, in passing the 1956 Mutual Security Act in July (HR 11356 - PL 726), left to the President's discretion the question of continuing aid to Yugoslavia, but specified the factors he should take into account in making the decision. (Weekly Report, p. 825) In passing the Mutual Security Appropriations bill for fiscal 1957 (HR 12130 - PL 853) Congress barred use of new funds for military equipment for Yugoslavia, except for maintenance of equipment already sent. (Weekly Report, p. 908)

The President ruled affirmatively on these three points: Yugoslavia still maintained a policy of independence from the Soviet Union; (2) she was not seeking Communist conquest of the world; (3) it was "in the interest of national security" to go on helping her.

The President said his decision "restores discretion in this area to me and my subordinates." His determination was not, however, to be taken as a "continuing directive" or commitment to use the funds Congress had set aside for economic aid to Yugoslavia, he said.

Capitol Briefs

ATOMIC SHIP

President Eisenhower Oct. 15 directed the Atomic Energy Commission and Maritime Administration to build as rapidly as possible the world's first atomic-powered merchant ship. The President issued the order after a White House meeting with heads of the agencies involved in the ship's construction. He said the new vessel would be a "floating laboratory," and that its "pressurized water reactor of advanced design" would not be secret. Congress approved the construction July 23 (HR 6243-PL 848). (Weekly Report, p. 901)

INSTALLMENT BUYING

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey Oct. 14 said installment buying was "a good thing for America" and that its regulation should be by self-discipline, not by "some bright people in Washington." Humphrey, appearing on a television forum, said installment buying was "a way of saving money," and resulted in a "better livelihood...and better way of living" than by saving first and then buying.

POWELL SUPPORTS EISENHOWER

Negro Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D N.Y.) Oct. 11 announced he would support President Eisenhower for re-election because he was pleased with Mr. Eisenhower's attitude on civil rights. He said he felt that Democratic Presidential candidate Adlai E. Stevenson "snubbed the whole liberal group" on the civil rights issue this year. Powell supported Stevenson in 1952. Powell said that Mr. Eisenhower seemed to look with "enthusiasm" on a new formula for withholding federal money from school districts that refused to go along with the Supreme Court school desegregation decision. Powell expressed hope of swinging 5 percent of the Negro and "liberal Democratic" vote in key northern states (N.Y., Pa., Ohio, Mich., Ill. and Calif.) to Mr. Eisenhower in the November election.

An amendment by Powell to the school construction bill (HR 7535) that would have barred U.S. aid to states operating racially segregated schools July 5 was adopted by the House by a 225-192 roll-call vote. The amendment was opposed by President Eisenhower and Democratic leaders. The bill was defeated by a 194-224 roll-call vote. (Weekly Report, p. 801, 808)

A group of Harlem Democratic officeholders Oct. 12 issued a statement, which said in part: "The people of Harlem regret...the White House was able to apply sufficient pressures upon...Powell -- at the time of the trial of another of his personal staff now pending in federal court -- to persuade him completely to change his convictions." Powell Oct. 13 denounced the charge as a complete lie. Presidential Press Secretary James C. Hagerty called the charge completely false.

Mrs. Hattie F. Dodson, secretary to Powell, currently is serving a jail sentence for tax evasion. Another secretary, William Hampton, is under indictment, awaiting trial, and a third, Acy Lennon, currently is on trial for tax evasion. (Weekly Report, p. 581)

State Roundup

MARYLAND -- Sen. John Marshall Butler (R) Oct. 15 said he had nothing to do with, but accepted full "responsibility" for, the 1950 publication of a composite photograph purporting to show then Sen. Millard E. Tydings talking with Communist leader Earl Browder. Butler called it "a product of enthusiastic yet ill-advised friends." Butler, who defeated Tydings, has been under attack in his current re-election campaign by his opponent, George P. Mahoney (D), for use of the composite in 1950. (Almanac, Vol. VII, p. 361ff.)

NEW YORK -- Rep. Frederic R. Coudert (R), 17th District, Oct. 15 agreed to stop distribution in its present form of a campaign newspaper that his opponent, Anthony B. Akers (D), had called a "scurrilous fraud." The paper contained an inquiring photographer column employing photographs of professional models and using fictitious names of persons purportedly endorsing Coudert.

SOUTH CAROLINA -- The South Carolinians for Independent Electors Oct. 15 announced they would support Sen. Harry Flood Byrd (D Va.) for President in the Nov. 6 general election. Byrd Oct. 15 said he was not a candidate for any office.

UTAH -- Gov. J. Bracken Lee (R), defeated for his party's nomination for a third term, Oct. 15 announced he would run for re-election as an independent. (Weekly Report, p. 1223).... Preston Allen, vice president of the Affiliated Ute Citizens of Utah, Oct. 13 filed suit on the constitutionality of a state law requiring Indians to acquire an off-reservation residence to be eligible to vote.

TENNESSEE -- District Attorney J. Carlton Loser Oct. 17 was nominated by the Davidson County Democratic Executive Committee as the party's candidate for Fifth District Representative. Loser defeated Nashville City Attorney Raymond Leathers, 43-42. Loser replaces Rep. J. Percy Priest, who died Oct. 12. He will oppose George Spence (R) in the general election.

Political Briefs

TRUTH SQUAD

Democratic National Chairman Paul M. Butler Oct. 10 accused 12 members of the Republican "truth squad" of "hypocrisy" on the basis of votes in Congress against Eisenhower Administration policy. Butler cited votes on issues relating to school desegregation, housing, public works, inflation controls, foreign aid, Presidential treaty-making limitations and confirmation of Eisenhower appointments. Truth squad members included in the Democratic study were:

Reps. Charles Halleck (Ind.), Gordon Scherer (Ohio), Albert Morano (Conn.), Donald Jackson (Calif.), William Widnall (N.J.), Winston Prouty (Vt.); Sens. Karl Mundt (S.D.), Frank Barrett (Wyo.), Charles Potter (Mich.), J. Glenn Beall (Md.), Roman Hruska (Neb.) and Thomas Martin (Iowa). A truth squad Oct. 10 denounced Butler, called his statement a "smear." The squad said its members had supported the President "an overwhelming majority of times."

CIVIL RIGHTS

Val J. Washington, Director of Minorities for the Republican National Committee, Oct. 13 said Vice Presidential Candidate Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.) had a "bad" civil rights record. Washington quoted Kefauver as having said in a 1948 House speech that "I have always opposed and will continue to vigorously oppose, the FEPC, the anti-lynch and any nonsegregation provisions." Washington listed 12 Kefauver votes in Congress from 1940-1950 in support of his contention.

1956 Campaign Statements

Congressional Quarterly will reprint major speeches and statements of Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates and campaign leaders during the 1956 Presidential campaign.

REPUBLICANS

These are the major statements of Republican campaigners for the week ending Oct. 17:

DWIGHT EISENHOWER

Following is a partial text of Oct. 12 replies by President Eisenhower to questions of a "citizens' press conference:"

LABOR LEGISLATION

There have been, I think, certain defects in the laws and I have recommended -- I think it's three times now -- changes in the Taft-Hartley Act that I think would be better for labor -- particularly the one that requires them to take an oath of loyalty, doesn't require an employer and also the one that's called the "economic difficulty" you know, where, about the voting on jurisdictional matters.

Well, none of those had been passed. They've always been stopped and blocked in the Congress. But at the same time we have pushed ahead with many things.

Now, it's true that when I recommended the increase in the minimum wage law, in the Congress, the opposition put an additional 10 cents. But what I thought was the proper, the big thing to do, was to spread the minimum wage law to get to more people, and the higher you raise it before you get it spread I'm afraid its going to be difficult in getting these fellows who were not under it yet -- the men and women -- working men and women -- its going to be more difficult.

I want more people under it. In the meantime wages have been raised and the cost of living has been extraordinarily stable in the last three years. Its true that you can say technically, the cost of living is high, it's gone up 2 1/2 percent since we've been in -- but it went up 45 percent or more in the last seven years of the one, of the preceding Administrations.

So then, all in all, the workman has been improving his union and strength, he's been improving his pay, he's been improving in every single thing -- Social Security, unemployment insurance, and we have supported those things.

So I believe that if labor -- the laboring man -- today -- and that really should include all Americans -- we all ought to be laboring for our living -- and I think most of us do -- if they will look at the record I think they will find nothing here that they can say that this Administration is their enemy. On the contrary, their good friend.

NEED FOR DRAFT

First all, as of now, our strength that we have to maintain on the very finest military advice that we can get in this world because there are no better soldiers and sailors and airmen than the United States possesses.

There's something on the order of 3,000,000. Maybe we'll get it down a little bit below that in the foreseeable future, but not too much. Experience has shown that when we go beyond the 1,500,000 that you simply cannot get volunteers.

Now to get these additional men we have to have some method that distributes the load properly, evenly and fairly.

Now we try to keep these calls down to the lowest possible number. But without the draft, first of all, we don't even get as many volunteers as we do with it because people volunteer so they can go in the services where they want and the time they want.

But with the draft we do get this job of defending America distributed fairly, properly and get people trained so that Veterans

are not the ones that have to go back into the Army after they have already served so much that they deserve our gratitude.

18-YEAR-OLD VOTE

Well, of course you know it is a matter for the states to decide, and I have never said exactly 18. This is what I started out and possibly it is rather thin philosophy but it was very near and dear to me in the war.

Young fellows were coming over and fighting. And I said if they're old enough to fight they're old enough to vote. Now it's perfectly true that they usually didn't get to Europe and into the fighting lines until they were 19.

I actually -- possibly had 19 more in mind than 18. But the fact is, I do believe when we throw in this modern time these great burdens on the youngsters they ought to have the right to vote and the only thing they have to do to justify it in my opinion is to go and vote.

And if they'll do it, and show the example in Kentucky, and I believe in Georgia, if they will do it I think others will follow in the same pathway and I would be delighted.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

For many years, I have urged that the United States is never going to be completely easy with its conscience until we're giving everybody -- according to everyone -- that equality before the law and that equality and opportunity that is visualized by our Constitution. And all that the Supreme Court decision -- it was to place or to devise a method by which this would eventually be brought about in our schools. Now, I have preached through all these years this: This is a problem that really comes down finally into the hearts as much as it does into the heads.

We must get understanding, each of the other's views. We must get tolerance, but we must make progress. I believe here, in this country, that violence is to be deplored with as -- just as strongly as we know how. I believe every true American should deplore any violence and incident.

But I believe every true American does not want to see progress proceeding until, finally, the equality is not only known by all, it's felt by all -- right down deep within them.

Now we, as you know, we have, I believe, eliminated all of the segregation that I know of at least on official terms in Washington. We've tried to eliminate it in all of the Government contracts, eliminated them in services, and so on.

We have been pursuing this quietly, not tub-thumping. And we've not tried to claim political credit. This is a matter of justice, not of anything else. That's the way I feel about it.

Minnesota Farm Speech

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 16 speech by President Eisenhower in Minneapolis, Minn.:

Now, in this brief visit with you today, I want to say a few words about agriculture. What I have to say is in this spirit: I want full justice for all farmers, because they are inseparable from -- and indispensable to -- a truly prospering America -- and everything I do seeks to assure full justice and fairness for all the American people. I am equally dedicated to the needs and aspirations of labor, of business -- of education and the professions -- not because they are specialized groups -- nor voting blocks to be pitted against one another -- but because they all have vital, functioning roles in the harmony of our free society.

In this spirit I seek -- and shall continue to seek -- to assure our farm families their full share of our nation's unparalleled prosperity today. You've already heard others talk here about farming. From what I've read of some of their statements I am sure that if some of these men drove a tractor like they talk -- they would have a mighty tough time plowing a straight furrow. It

certainly is not straight talk to say that our farmers would be better off to return to the programs that caused surpluses to pile up and prices to go down.

The record on this is absolutely clear. From World War II until last year, rigid wartime price supports induced the farmer to grow far more than he could sell and choked off much of his foreign market. Huge surpluses built up. Prices went down. Rigid supports did not cause high farm income. Wars -- with their high demand -- did that. When wars were ended -- and even before -- prices started down. They went down very fast in 1952 -- even with the Korean war in full swing. So by the time this Administration took office nearly four years ago, the whole farm economy was seriously threatened. We constructed a farm program. We proposed legislation. Despite delays and opposition, we got sizable parts through. Consequently:

This year is the first year since World War II that farm prices have started back up without the economic help of a war. It is also the first full year in which programs sponsored by this Administration have operated. Contrast that with the eight long years -- excepting one Korean war year -- when farm prices went down under the old laws. Here, then, is the plain proof. The new laws work. Nevertheless, some political orators -- no doubt overly excited by the din of a campaign -- actually have been saying that I am "against" the little farmer -- that I consider the farmer expendable -- that I think the family farm is obsolete. This Administration has acted to help the family farm in the most concrete ways:

Social security for family farm operators; the federal gas tax refund; the soil bank; the most liberal farm credit program in history; the biggest, most creative research program in our history to find new products, new uses for old products, new markets for all products. Just a word about another Administration effort I am proud of -- the rural development program. It is a bold, long-range program for lifting the lowest-income people in rural areas by improving their education, skills, credit facilities and earning opportunities.

The fact is: we have made real advances in behalf of the people living on family farms these past four years. Looking to the future of farming, I think this:

OVER THE HUMP

Clearly, we are over the hump. The biggest clean-up job left is to keep up our attack on surpluses until both overproduction and the excess stocks on hand have become just a memory. But even that is not enough: we must keep carrying forward all the solid programs now under way. I want to state my sincere conviction on all these problems:

I believe that, by any objective yardstick, the future today in agriculture looks better -- more promising and more dependable -- than at any time in this generation. Let's keep it going that way. Now, I know your interests -- as in the case with all Americans -- are far broader than agriculture. You want, as I do, clean, honest government -- and efficient government. Four years ago I pledged that kind of government. We have kept that pledge. You want, as I do, a strong, up-to-date, alert national defense -- one that gives you a dollar's worth of defense for each dollar spent. I pledged that to you. We have kept that pledge.

You want, as I do, a government that, while being prudent in its use of the people's money, remains ever sensitive to all concerns of human welfare. That pledge, too, we have faithfully kept. Today our country's good times are rooted in confidence. And one of the reasons for that confidence is simply this: Your government today is one that believes in you. And you, I am confident, trust this Administration.

And finally, my friends, I must speak a word of what is most in the minds and hearts of all of us. We all know that all these concerns of our national life that I have been discussing have true and lasting value only in the light of our tireless quest of a just and lasting peace. We have advanced a long way on the road toward that goal. The peace we enjoy today is, of course, not all that we would wish -- nor all that, with God's help, it will one day be. Centuries of mutual hatred among nations, of ancient prejudices and quarrels, cannot be erased in a few short years.

And yet we may ask ourselves: Why the anguished cry of some politicians, these days, that we have made no gains whatsoever to-

ward the peace we seek; the plain truth is that Americans know very well the difference between today -- and the days of the Korean casualty lists. And Americans have not forgotten those other milestones -- all around the world -- on our road to peace: Austria, Trieste, West Germany, Guatemala, Panama, Caracas and Geneva.

Are these anguished politicians really trying to bring Americans to believe that our nation's voice is not urging -- daily and powerfully -- conciliation, mutual understanding and justice? We are doing exactly that in the Suez problem.

RICHARD NIXON

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 12 speech by Vice President Nixon at Columbus, Neb., on the Eisenhower Administration farm program:

The get-rich-quick promises that our opponents have made to America's farmers are just as impossible to keep with the type of program they advocate as would be their promise to guarantee rain in the drought stricken areas. There is a warmed over package of bankrupt schemes. They would mean strict controls over farmers. They include a price support program which would increase the surpluses that cost America's farmers two billion dollars last year in unrealized income he would have had if we had not inherited this mess in 1953.... There is good news for America's farmers today. Farm income is on the way up and surpluses are on the way down.

During the past year, the Eisenhower Administration moved \$2.7 billion worth of government-owned farm products into use -- three times as much as the Truman Administration moved in its last year in office.

We are finally solving the farm problem because we are facing up to the fact that the only cure for a surplus is to get rid of it; and to get rid of it you first have to get rid of what caused it.

I realize that probably the most serious problem in the farm belt today is the drought which is causing such terrible disaster in so many of the areas I have visited in the Southwest. President Eisenhower's four point program, announced yesterday, gives assurance that this Administration will continue to do everything we can to provide relief for drought stricken areas.

Since 1953, \$550 million have been disbursed and I can assure you we are not putting a price tag on what we will do to help those who are suffering through no fault of their own.

It is unfortunate that in the last session of Congress some members of the opposition party actually did place political considerations above the interest of the farmers and delayed the payments under the Soil Bank program -- payments which could have meant so much to the farmers in drought areas and elsewhere if they could have been made sooner as the President requested.

It is time to quit making a political football of the farm problem and devote our efforts in a bi-partisan way to the objective we all want -- a fair share of the nation's productivity for those who form the backbone of our economy, our farmers. Here are the major weapons in the Eisenhower Administration's drive toward this goal:

The Soil Bank program; an imaginative, bold program of surplus disposal that gets America's wheat and corn and cattle in the hands of those who need them and can use them; liberalized credit to meet the needs of family farmers; increased budget for a whole new array of conservation activities; a rural development program that will aid farm families on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder; expanded research to develop new crops, new uses, new markets; an augmented R.E.A. program that will meet with record speed the growing requirements for power and telephones in farming areas.

DEMOCRATS

These are the major statements and speeches of Democratic campaigners for the week ending Oct. 17:

ADLAI STEVENSON

Following is a partial text of an Oct. 12 speech by Stevenson at San Diego, Calif., on leadership:

We cannot too often remind ourselves that the President and the Vice President of the United States are the only officials who are elected by all Americans. Only from the White House does there come a voice which speaks -- or should speak -- with equal regard for everyone of us -- from whatever state, or whatever race or creed, and of whatever economic condition.

It is important, vitally important, however, that if the President is to be the effective servant of every American he must also be the effective leader of his own political party. He must, as President, make that party the instrument of the national will, the general welfare. He must be willing to exercise the full prestige of his office to serve this end.

This is one of the great issues in this 1956 election. It is another of the reasons for this tide that is now crossing the land. For the people realize that the Republican President is either unwilling or unable to lead his party leaders -- they will follow him to the polls but no further -- and that the Republican Vice President is the heir apparent and his views are adjustable, to say the least.

In short, people are coming to realize more and more that the Republican candidate and his party leadership are indistinguishable; that this is the last chance to audit the accounts, that this election will close the books, that to vote for the Republican candidate is to vote for (Secretary) Humphrey, for Wilson, for Benson, for Dulles -- and for the new head of the Republican party -- Mr. Nixon.

Four years ago, the Republicans chanted "it's time for a change." To many voters, this meant more than a change in the control of our Government. It meant a change in the Republican party as well.

These voters saw, or thought they saw, in the 1952 Republican candidate the hope for a new leadership in the Republican party; the hope for an end to the Old Guard control of that party, an end to instinctive opposition to every new idea; the hope for an awakened spirit of Republican search for new solutions to new problems.

And four years ago, many Americans who were not old-line Republicans felt, for honest and conscientious reasons, that an experiment with a Republican Administration would be a good idea. Some believed that twenty years of power was enough and had worn out the Democratic party. Some hoped that responsibility would civilize and modernize the Republican party. Others simply perceived an inherent virtue in change for its own sake.

NOT QUESTION MOTIVES

I disagreed -- as some of you may recall -- with the judgment of these Americans. But I would never question their motives. I know they voted as they did after an earnest searching of their minds and hearts.

Now we are in a position to weigh the results of the Republican experiment. And I ask thoughtful Republicans and independents and Democrats who voted the Republican ticket four years ago to join with us in this process of appraisal.

Let us first freely admit that some Democrats were wrong in some of their fears of a Republican government.

Some Democrats believed -- and this, too, for honest and conscientious reasons -- that Republican rule would result in an open and ruthless attack on the social gains so laboriously won by Democratic Administrations under the New Deal and the Fair Deal and so bitterly opposed by the Republican Old Guard every step of the way.

Such an open and ruthless attack has not taken place -- for at least one obvious reason -- they didn't dare.

But what has taken place is something different, something more intangible, something harder to identify. I think the perils are equally real.

What has been the character of the Eisenhower Administration? Its spokesmen tell us that its overriding aim has been to stick to the middle of the road. I would put it differently. Under the Eisenhower Administration, national policy has become stalled on dead center.

A paralysis of will has overtaken our national leadership. Grim and pressing problems accumulate. But our Federal Government, the instrument of the people, has stopped thinking, stopped feeling, stopped caring and stopped acting. The Administration's only answer to the oncoming rush of problems, at home and abroad

is a bland and weary complacency, a yawn and an assurance that all is well.

We Democrats were wrong in 1952 if we predicted surgery. But who would have believed us if we had predicted anesthesia.

The Republicans promised the voters four years ago -- in candidate Eisenhower's words -- "not to turn the clock" They haven't. But they haven't wound it in four years either.

And at the bottom of all this is the hard fact that the Republican President -- after a few feeble tries at it -- has evidently long since given up the job of making over the Republican party. And as a result we have had four years of Government without ideas, without energy and without direction, made up of leaders who do not wish to lead and followers who do not choose to follow.

During his first two years in office, the Republicans in Congress fought the President on housing, on taxes, on trade and on other key programs.

Privately, we now learn, President Eisenhower was so disheartened with the Republican party that he gave serious thought to forming a third party.

Publicly, however, he expressed his preference for "the election of every Republican over every Democrat for every office any place" -- including as you know, a Republican Congressman from this area who had opposed the President at every turn.

Apparently the definition of an "Eisenhower Republican" is any Republican who is up for reelection.

To this day, the Republican President's worst opposition in Congress is still Republican opposition. Senator (William F.) Knowland (of California) still opposes on foreign policy. Senator (John W.) Bricker (of Ohio) still proposed his amendment (on treaty-making curbs) and when the President said he wanted Federal aid for schools, 119 Republican Congressmen voted against and killed a bill for Federal school aid.

STILL SAME PARTY

This abdication -- or failure -- of political leadership means just one thing: the Republican Old Guard still rides high today and the Republican party is still the same old Republican party.

A Minnesota farmer came up to me during the primaries this spring and told me he was going to "switch again," as he put it, this year. "You know," he said, "I just didn't realize the Republicans would act like Republicans."

And now it is clear that the loss of new leadership in the Republican party has meant in a very real sense loss of real leadership among the people as well.

Most Americans, I deeply believe, support the decision of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Yet only recently the President said that he didn't think it mattered whether he supported that decision or not.

Most Americans, I am convinced, realize, whether they like it or not, that Federal aid is necessary in many places to build more schools and train more teachers. But the President, even though he said he agreed, chose not to throw the weight of his office into the fight for schools.

For two years he proposed nothing, in the third year the equivalent of nothing. As in most everything it took an election year to revive the Administration's enthusiasm for domestic progress.

He said, from 1952 on, that revision of our immigration laws was a "must." But there was no action in this direction from the White House until another election year came around.

We have read eloquent Presidential messages speaking our common conviction that it is America's "moral obligation" to provide decent housing, to clean up the slums. But precious little has been done in this direction.

Most Americans, I know, are concerned and deeply concerned about mankind's need to tame the hydrogen bomb. Yet only yesterday the President said he had uttered his "last word" on this subject.

I say that there can be no "last word" on this fateful subject until mankind is freed of the menace of incineration. And I shall have something more to say about the obligations of leadership to the human race as well as the nation next Monday night.

We all know that there is something wrong, that something has gone out of American life -- something that used to be there; something that gave people's lives meaning and dignity. We are missing that intensity of conviction, that moral passion which we

desperately need if we are going to rise to the challenge of our opportunities and the demands of our necessities in this revolutionary epoch.

And the results are all too plainly written in the facts of America's daily life:

Mothers know about crowded schools and half-day shifts in many, many places.

Farmers know what's happened to prices and costs and their diminishing share of the consumers' food dollar.

The small business man knows what's happened to his credit and his profits.

The housewife knows that prices are at an all-time high. The union man knows that in spite of all the 1952 promises the labor relations law is still as Taft and Hartley wrote it.

The 30,000,000 Americans who live in families with incomes under \$2,000 a year are not so impressed with the prosperity refrain.

And in our dealings with the rest of the world we have, in these four years, lost precious ground on the military, the economic, and most of all the political and moral fronts. Instead of bold, creative, magnanimous understanding leadership, our allies and the uncommitted masses of peoples newly free have found a new America of bluffs and boasts and threats, of advances and retreats, an America more reliant on military pacts than on the economic reliance and the self-reliance of the great regions of the world who want progress more than they hate communism.

The American Presidency is the greatest temporal office on earth. Its capacity for good or evil is almost beyond measure. When the President speaks, the world pays heed; when the President is silent, millions despair.

In the days of the youth of our Republic, great Presidents taught us what the Presidency can really be. Thomas Jefferson made the Louisiana Purchase; James Monroe gave us the Monroe Doctrine, and in the years of our own lives Woodrow Wilson conceived the League of Nations, Franklin Roosevelt led this nation from depression to victory against the mortal challenge of totalitarianism; Harry Truman led America to her rightful place at the head of the free world.

NEED LEADERSHIP

The need is as great today, the need for leadership and new ideas.

And I say it's time we get up and get started again.

It is time to return again to an ideal of national leadership that will recall our nation to its instinct for greatness - a leadership that acts, and that in acting gives people the chance, yes, and the faith, to act for themselves.

I believe, and that is why I stand before you here tonight, that the Democratic party can provide this leadership.

We have a program -- an action program -- for education, and we will do our level best to carry it out.

We have a program for health security, and we will do our level best to carry that out.

We have a program for our older citizens, and we will do our level best to carry that out.

We have programs for our cities and for our suburbs, for our farmers and small businessmen -- and for a new faith in liberty and the Bill of Rights.

America is a land of abundance. We want to use it -- to enrich all our lives.

We want to work for an America where no man fears to think what he pleases and say what he thinks and where everyone can make his way in life, without regard to the color of his skin.

And we want to work -- and work hard -- to secure that peace in the world which is man's oldest dream.

These are the purposes that inspire the Democratic party. They are the faith which is our title to the trust we seek from the nation.

Hydrogen Bomb Speech

Following is the completed text of an Oct. 15 speech by Stevenson at Chicago, Ill., on H-bomb curbs:

Thirteen years ago this winter I was in Italy. The war was on, and it was a wet, cold, ugly winter. It seems a long time ago.

Our men were fighting their way up a valley whose name none of you will remember -- unless you happen to be one of them. The Liri Valley, it was called. It was a place of mud and blood.

I served through the war as personal assistant to the Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox. And what I saw and experienced there in the Liri Valley at that time was nothing very out of the ordinary -- as war goes and as I saw it in the Pacific and Europe. I mention it now only because I think it was there I decided that after the war I would do what I could to help in mankind's eternal search for peace.

For it was painfully clear, there in the Liri Valley, that civilization could not survive another world war. And that fact became even more clear on the day the first atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima.

So after the war, I served for several years with the American delegation in the early days of the United Nations, both here and abroad. And that, in turn, led me into politics.

And now, 13 years after that decision in Italy, I come before you tonight to talk a little about the cause which means more to all of us than anything else -- the cause of peace.

We are caught up today along with the rest of the world, in an arms race which threatens mankind with stark, merciless, bleak catastrophe.

It is not accident that the instinct of survival which is common to all men and all nations is slowly but surely compelling the most practical and hard-headed statesmen to give increasing heed to the prevention and abolition of war. In this nuclear age, peace is no longer merely a visionary ideal, it has become an urgent and practical necessity.

Yet we dare not tear down and abandon armed deterrents to war before we devise and secure other and more effective guarantees of peace. Great and law-abiding nations cannot leave their security at the mercy of others.

We have learned that unilateral disarmament invites rather than deters aggression. So until there is world-wide agreement on an effective system of balanced arms reductions with adequate safeguards, we must maintain our national defense and the defenses of the free world.

MAINTAIN FLEXIBILITY

I am not only opposed to unilateral disarmament but I have felt that we should not put too many of our eggs in the atomic and hydrogen basket. I have felt that we should try to maintain sufficient balance, flexibility and mobility in our armed strength that we will not be forced to choose between appeasement and massive retaliation, between too little and too much, between submission and holocaust.

Effective disarmament means universal disarmament -- an open world, with no secret armies, no secret weapons, and, in effect, no military secrets. Responsible statesmen do not risk the security of their countries for hopes which may prove illusory or promises that are worthless.

But nations have become so accustomed to living in the dark that it is not easy for them to learn to live in the light. And all our efforts to work out any safe, reliable, effective system of inspection to prevent evasion of arms agreements have been blocked by the Soviet rulers. They will not agree to let us inspect them; We cannot agree to disarm unless we can inspect them. And the matter has been deadlocked there for 11 years.

Yet if we are going to make any progress we must find means of breaking out of this deadly deadlock. We must come forward with proposals which will bear witness to our desire to move toward and not away from disarmament.

It was with this hard, urgent need in mind that I proposed last spring that all countries concerned halt further tests of large-size nuclear weapons -- what we usually call the H-bombs. And I proposed that the United States take the lead in establishing this world policy.

I deliberately chose to make this proposal as far removed as possible from the political arena. It was made almost four months before the party conventions. It was made before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. It was made without criticism of the present Administration's policy for H-bomb development.

Others, and not I, have chosen to make this proposal for peace a political issue, but I think this is good. After all, the issue is

mankind's survival, and man should debate it, fully, openly and in democracy's established processes. Because there has been only negative criticism of this proposal from the Republican candidates in this campaign, I want to return to it tonight.

These are the reasons why I think the time is ripe and there is an insistent necessity for the world to stop at least the testing of these terrifying weapons.

First, the H-bomb is already so powerful that a single bomb could destroy the largest city in the world. If every man, woman and child on earth were each carrying a 16-pound bundle of dynamite -- enough to blow him to smithereens and then some -- the destructive force in their arms would be equal to the force of one 20-megaton hydrogen bomb, which has already been exploded.

Second, the testing of an H-bomb anywhere can be quickly detected. You can't hide the explosion any more than you can hide an earthquake.

As the President has stated: "tests of large weapons by any nation, may be detected when they occur." In short, H-bomb testing requires no inspection. We will know it when it happens anywhere, and by studying the dust from that explosion we can determine what progress the other country has made. This means that if any country broke its pledge we would know it and could promptly resume our own testing.

Third, these tests themselves may cause the human race unmeasured damage.

With every explosion of a super-bomb huge quantities of radioactive materials are pumped into the air currents of the world at all altitudes -- later to fall to earth as dust or in rain. This radioactive "fallout" carries something called strontium-90, which is the most dreadful poison in the world. Only a tablespoon shared equally by all members of the human race would produce a dangerous level of radioactivity in the bones of every individual. In sufficient concentration it can cause bone cancer and dangerously affect the reproductive processes.

STUDIES SHOW RADIOACTIVITY

Prior to the atomic age, radioactive strontium was practically non-existent in the world. Careful studies show that today all of us -- all over the world -- have some of it in our bones. It enters our bodies through the foodstuffs grown in soil on which the bomb dust has fallen.

I do not wish to be an alarmist and I am not asserting that the present levels of radioactivity are dangerous. Scientists do not know exactly how dangerous the threat is. But they know the threat will increase if we go on testing. And we should remember that less than half of the strontium created by past tests by Russia and the United States has as yet fallen to earth from the stratosphere.

So it seems clear to me that if it is humanly possible we should stop sending this dangerous material into the air just as soon as we can.

Fourth. The dangers of testing by three powers are ominous enough, but there is another reason why it is important to act now. Last May, Mr. Stassen, the President's disarmament assistant, said that within a year the "secret" of making the hydrogen bomb would spread around the world. Think what would happen if a maniac, another Hitler, had the hydrogen bomb. And imagine what the consequences would be if a dozen nations were conducting hydrogen bomb tests and wantonly thrusting radioactive matter into the atmosphere.

These are the reasons that it seems to me imperative that a world policy of stopping these tests be established at the very first possible moment.

I proposed last April that the United States take the initiative toward this end by announcing our willingness to stop these tests, "calling upon other nations to follow our lead," and making it clear that unless they did likewise we would have to resume our experiments too. That was my proposal. It was simple. It was safe. It was workable.

And since that time both Russia and Great Britain have declared their willingness to join us in trying to establish the kind of policy I have suggested.

What are we waiting for? It seems to me that we should lose no more time in starting to make the most of what appears to be a better climate for progress in this field.

Therefore, if elected President, I would count it the first order of business to follow up on the opportunity presented now by the other atomic powers. I would do this by conference or by consultation -- at whatever level -- in whatever place -- the circumstances might suggest would be most fruitful.

In the meantime -- and frankly because bitter experience has proved that we cannot rely even on the firm agreement of one block of world powers -- we will proceed both with the production of hydrogen weapons and with further research in the field.

There is little danger to national security involved because if another power conducts further tests we would know it and, as I have said, would have no choice but to resume such tests ourselves.

Now just a word about the opposition that has developed to this proposal from the President, Mr. Nixon and others. It is said that it does not provide for "proper international safeguards." This misses the point, for as the scientists have long explained and the President has himself acknowledged, we can detect any large explosion anywhere.

It is said that other countries might get the jump on us. The President implied that we would stop our research while others would continue theirs. But I have made no such suggestion, and obviously we should not stop our research. We should prepare ourselves so that, if another country violated the agreement, we could promptly resume our testing program. And I am informed that we could be in a position to resume tests -- if we have to within not more than eight weeks.

The President even implied that the proposal would somehow reduce or curtail our power to defend ourselves. It would not. We would give up none of our stockpile. We would even add to it, as needed, from current production. We would continue to develop and test smaller nuclear weapons. We should continue our research and development work on guided missiles, for the defense of our cities and for use in the field.

I call your attention to the fact that many distinguished scientists, as well as other leading figures in this country and the world, share my views. On this matter the beginning and end of wisdom do not lie in the White House and its advisers.

NO LAST WORD

But what I find most disturbing is the President's desire to end this discussion which so deeply concerns all mankind. He said at his press conference last week that he had said his "last word" on this subject. We cannot brush the hydrogen bomb under the rug. But we can discuss it seriously and soberly, with mutual respect for the desire we all have for progress toward peace. This is one subject on which there cannot be, there must not be any last word.

This is one matter on which the defeatist view that nothing can be done must be rejected. I say that something can be done, that the deadlock can be broken, that the world can make a new beginning toward peace.

And, finally, I say that America should take the initiative; that it will reassure millions all around the globe who are troubled by our rigidity, our reliance on nuclear weapons and our concepts of massive retaliation, if mighty, magnanimous America spoke up for the rescue of man from this elemental fire which we have kindled.

As we all know, in the world in which we live only the strong can be free. Until we succeed in abolishing the institution of war itself, we must have, together with our allies, the strength to deter aggression and to defeat it if it comes. That is the first condition of peace in an armed world.

One last word. The search for peace will not end, it will begin, with the halting of these tests. What we will accomplish is a new beginning and the world needs nothing so much as a new beginning.

People everywhere are waiting for the United States to take once more the leadership for peace and civilization. We must regain the moral respect we once had and which our stubborn, self-righteous rigidity has nearly lost.

Finally, I say to you that leaders must lead; that where the issue is of such magnitude, I have no right to stand silent; I owe it to you to express my views, whatever the consequences.

I repeat: this step can be taken. We can break the deadlock. We can make a fresh start. We can put the world on a new path to peace.

May He who rules us all give us the courage and patience, the vision and the humility we will need, and grant His blessing to this work.

ONE-THIRD OF HOUSE SEATS MAY SWITCH PARTIES

One-third of the contested seats in the House of Representatives -- 120 out of 355 -- conceivably could change hands on Nov. 6, according to Congressional Quarterly's pre-election survey based on a study of district voting patterns, consultation with campaign managers and candidates, and reports of local issues and trends. Of the 120, CQ classed 77 as seats which the opposition party has a fighting chance to capture from the incumbent party, although the odds favor the incumbent. Forty-nine of these "fighting" seats are held by Republicans, 28 by Democrats. (For list, see p. 1271). CQ classed the remaining 43 seats as "doubtful," indicating a relatively greater chance of their turning over. Twenty-three of these "doubtful" seats are held by Republicans, 20 by Democrats. Fight for control of the House in the 85th Congress will hinge on these 43 contests. (See 1952 Almanac, p. 460; Weekly Report, p. 14, 1168)

GOP Handicap

The death Oct. 11 of Rep. J. Percy Priest (D Tenn.) left the House divided, 230 Democrats to 201 Republicans, with four vacancies. The vacant seats -- two Democratic and two Republican districts -- are not expected to change hands. However, Republicans already have lost one seat in Maine, changing the latest House political score to 231-200. So the Republicans must hold all others and capture another 16 seats now held by Democrats if they are to win numerical control of the House. While Republicans appear to have a good chance of picking up seats in the 20 "doubtful districts" held by Democrats, the latter's chances are likewise good in the 23 "doubtful" districts held by Republicans. Were all 43 seats -- and no others -- to change hands, Democrats would make a net gain of three seats, giving them 236 to the GOP's 199 in the new House. Were only the Democratic-held 20 "doubtful districts" to change hands, Republicans would outnumber Democrats, 222 to 213, a slim but workable majority.

This study makes no attempt to forecast the outcome of these close contests. Each race, as described in the following pages, presents a different set of candidates, local issues, population characteristics and voting patterns. The analysis is confined to a description of the districts involved and of the results of prior elections. No attempt is made to estimate the probable impact, if any, of the candidacies of President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson on the outcome of Congressional races.

Districts Located

The 43 "doubtful" districts are scattered through 22 states, with some in each region: 17 in the Midwest, 14 in the East; seven in the West; five in the South. However, 19 of the 43 districts are concentrated in four states -- seven in Pennsylvania, and four each in Illinois, Michigan and New York. (Another 18 districts in these four states are classed in the "fighting" category.)

Fifteen, or one-third of the doubtful districts are in metropolitan areas, according to CQ's classification of rural-urban population based on the 1950 census. (Weekly Report, p. 360). Eleven are classed as mid-urban, 10 as small town and seven as rural. These proportions are roughly comparable to the distribution of all 435 districts. There are, however, indications that population shifts since 1950 have pushed several of the 11 mid-urban districts into the metropolitan category. On the basis of the 1954 Congressional election, Republicans hold a 3-2 edge over Democrats in 95 mid-urban districts, while Democrats outnumber Republicans elected from 142 metropolitan districts, also about 3-2.

Recent Returns

The 43 "doubtful" districts are almost equally divided between those which changed hands in 1952 or in 1954 or in both years, and those which have remained in the hands of one or the other party for a longer period. In the latter group are 21 districts, of which 16 are held by Republicans and five by Democrats. In general, a cumulative growth of opposition strength, based to some extent on shifting population and economic characteristics, accounts for the threat to the incumbent party in these districts. Several of the incumbents in these districts owe their re-election in 1954 to personal appeal and campaign skill. In Pennsylvania's 22nd District, for example, Rep. John P. Saylor (R) won re-election in 1952 with 52.4 percent of the vote, although Stevenson carried the district (Saylor was one of only four GOP Representatives who won in 1952 although their districts went to Stevenson). Again in 1954, Saylor, known as an effective campaigner, won by something less than 5,000 votes while Gov. George M. Leader (D) swept the district with a 20,000 majority.

Of the 22 districts which changed hands in 1952 or 1954, 17 elected Republicans in 1952, four elected Democrats, and one (Ninth Ohio) an Independent. In 1954, 13 of the 17 districts which had picked GOP candidates in 1952 switched hands. Democrats also won the Ninth Ohio and the Sixth New York, which was recaptured from the GOP in 1952. However, Democrats lost three districts in 1954 which they had carried in 1952 -- Sixth California, First Florida and Fifth Texas. Democrats now hold 15 of these 22 districts, Republicans seven. In the majority of cases, the incumbents have had insufficient time in which to consolidate their positions, and all other things being equal, probably are more vulnerable than are the incumbents in the other 21 "doubtful" districts.

In general, Republican chances would seem best among the 13 districts carried by GOP candidates in 1952 but lost to Democrats in 1954, assuming that President Eisenhower will add to the strength of most Republican candidates. In six of the 13 districts lost to Democrats in 1954, the Republican challenger is the man who was ousted. These 13 districts are: 12th and 25th Illinois; Sixth and 17th Michigan; Ninth Minnesota; Fourth and

House Races - 2

Sixth Missouri; Sixth New Jersey; 11th, 19th and 25th Pennsylvania; Ninth Virginia, and Fourth West Virginia.

Eisenhower Influence

In 1952, President Eisenhower carried 41 of the 43 "doubtful" districts, losing only the 22nd Pennsylvania and the Sixth California to Stevenson. Of the 41, the President carried 11 by more than 60 percent of the vote, 30 by more than 55 percent. Of the 11 which he carried by less than 55 percent, eight elected Republican Representatives at the same time. In 1954 four of these eight switched to Democrats -- Fourth Missouri, 11th and 25th Pennsylvania, and Ninth Virginia.

In eight of the 43 "doubtful" districts, Mr. Eisenhower received a smaller percentage of the Presidential vote than did the Republican candidate of the Congressional vote in 1952, although the gap was small in most cases. Districts in which the GOP House candidate led the President: Sixth California; 11th, 12th and 25th Illinois; 12th Michigan; Ninth Minnesota; Second Montana; and Sixth New Jersey. Largest gap was in the 12th Michigan, where Rep. John B. Bennett (R) won re-election with 58.2 percent of the vote while Mr. Eisenhower received 53.8 percent of the Presidential vote. In 1954, Rep. Bennett received 55.9 percent of the vote.

State, Local Factors

Unemployment is something of a factor in several of the doubtful districts, such as the 25th Illinois, Third Indiana, 10th and 11th Pennsylvania. Farm problems will influence the outcome of races in Sixth Indiana, Ninth Minnesota, Second Montana, Sixth Ohio, First South Dakota. Factional disputes, in one or both parties, are important elements in some races. Statewide political contests are also expected to influence the outcome in a number of districts. In Third Kentucky (Louisville), for example, Rep. John M. Robson Jr. will almost certainly be affected by the outcome of the state's two Senate races, as well as by the Presidential contest. Contests in four New York City districts (Sixth, 12th, 15th, 17th) could be decided by the hotly fought Senate race between Mayor Robert F. Wagner (D) and State Attorney General Jacob K. Javits (R). The resurgence of Democratic strength in Pennsylvania, evidenced in the 1954 election of Gov. George M. Leader and the strong race being made by Democrat Joseph S. Clark Jr. against Sen. James H. Duff (R), could help to save Democratic incumbents in the 11th, 19th and 25th, and oust Republicans in the Sixth, Eighth, 10th and 22nd. By definition, the doubtful district is one in which many influences will determine the outcome.

DOUBTFUL DISTRICTS

Following is a state-by-state summary of Congressional districts in which the election outcome is in serious doubt. Incumbents' names are listed in capital letters. Democratic nominees are listed first, since their party currently controls the House.

Arizona

• 1st (Maricopa County-Phoenix) -- William P. Mahoney Jr. (D), Maricopa County Attorney, vs. JOHN J. RHODES (R), Mesa attorney.

A Democratic district through 1950 the 1st has voted Republican in 1952 and 1954. Democrats hope to defeat Rhodes, running for his third term, before he gets entrenched. Mahoney, highly regarded by his party, is well-known in area and a good speaker. Sen. Carl Hayden's (D) being on ticket this year may help him. Rhodes won handily in 1952 and 1954. GOP expects President Eisenhower, who carried 1st overwhelmingly in 1952, to help Rhodes. District growing rapidly. GOP claims majority of newcomers.

California

• 6th (Contra Costa, Solano Counties-Richmond) -- H. Robert Quinney (D), Vallejo dentist, vs. JOHN F. BALDWIN JR. (R), Martinez attorney.

Former Rep. Robert L. Condon (D 1953-55) lost to Baldwin by 2,560 out of 142,123 votes in 1954. Condon was charged with being a security risk. Baldwin appears stronger than in 1954, but Democrats claim higher registration and 1952 redistricting favors them. Stevenson won 6th in 1952 by 8,720 out of 181,519 votes cast. Quinney was Condon's 1954 campaign manager.

• 11th (San Joaquin, Stanislaus Counties-Stockton) -- State Assemblyman John J. McFall (D), Manteca, vs. Leroy Johnson (R), Stockton attorney.

Democrats consider 11th most likely pickup in state. They claim McFall has liberal record in state legislature appealing to Negro, Filipino and Mexican-American voters in area. Johnson won both nominations in old 3rd and new 11th districts from 1944 until 1954, when he was opposed and won by 5,328 out of 104,112 votes. He has not entrenched himself in 11th as he did in old 3rd, Democrats claim, and has only one county (San Joaquin) he formerly represented in 3rd. Eisenhower carried 11th by 15,342 out of 130,020 votes cast.

Colorado

• 1st (Denver) -- BYRON G. ROGERS (D), attorney, vs. Robert S. McCollum (R), businessman and former special assistant to Mayor Will F. Nicholson.

President Eisenhower's summer "White House" is in this district. Mr. Eisenhower won a 27,555-vote majority while Rogers barely scraped through with a 4,422 majority out of 200,613 votes cast in 1952. McCollum has potent backing of Eisenhower and Nicholson, has been campaigning for months. Now a three-term, Rogers strengthened his hold on 1st in 1954, is campaigning on his record. A shrewd and experienced campaigner, he has backing of top state Democrats.

Florida

• 1st (Hillsborough, Pinellas Counties-Tampa, St. Petersburg) -- Winton H. King (D), Tampa, former administrative assistant to ex-Rep. Courtney Campbell (D 1953-55) vs. WILLIAM C. CRAMER (R), St. Petersburg attorney.

First was one of two new southern districts GOP won in 1954. On second try, Cramer won in 1954 by 1,543 out of 103,031 votes cast. Eisenhower carried 1st by 37,578 out of 158,118 votes cast in 1952. GOP sending in top campaigners, including Vice President Nixon, to hold it, and Cramer riding Eisenhower coattails. Top Democrats also working hard for King, hope to get out big vote in Democratic Hillsborough to offset big vote Cramer expected to get in GOP Pinellas. Cramer claiming credit for Tampa Harbor development. Cramer campaigning on 24-point platform of public works, legislation to aid many "senior citizens" in district. King claims Cramer using press agents at public expense to perpetuate himself in office, urges expansion of Bay Pines veterans hospital, completion of Inter-Coastal waterway.

• 6th (Palm Beach, West Palm Beach, Fort Lauderdale, Fort Myers) -- PAUL G. ROGERS (D), West Palm Beach attorney, vs. Dorothy A. Smith (R), Fort Lauderdale attorney.

GOP regards 6th as best possibility for pickup in the state. Area has had big influx of new Republican residents. Sixth was strongest Eisenhower district in state in 1952, giving Eisenhower a 2-1 vote margin. GOP nominee is president of Florida Federation of Republican Women and has strong party backing. Rogers won seat by about 9,000 votes in 1955 special election following death of his father, Dwight L. Rogers (D 1945-54). Democrats say Paul Rogers benefits from Dwight Rogers' longstanding strength in 6th and from strong support given him by top state Democrats. President's veto of Central Florida water project is a campaign issue.

Illinois

• 11th (North Chicago) -- Roman C. Pucinski (D), newspaperman, vs. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN (R), businessman.

A three-term, Sheehan won in 1954 by only 2,353 out of 131,929 votes cast. He claims low GOP voter turnout in 1954 was major factor in his close shave. Ward committeeman of 41st Ward, largest in city, Sheehan concentrating on getting out

GOP vote in coming election. Pucinski has potent backing of Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic organization. Pucinski campaigning on slogan, "Drive the Rascals Out," and on Eisenhower Administration "failures" to insure "sound prosperity" at home and to aid allies abroad, and on Sheehan's "excessive" use of frank in mailing campaign literature. Sheehan campaigning on Eisenhower and personal record. Eisenhower carried 11th by 28,309 out of 177,357 votes cast in 1952, when Sheehan won by 32,574 out of 173,956.

● 12th (Northeast Chicago) -- CHARLES A. BOYLE (D), attorney, vs. ex-Rep. Edgar A. Jonas (R 1949-55), attorney.

GOP counting 12th as likeliest pickup in Cook County. Boyle defeated three-term Jonas in 1954 by 12,519 out of 152,517 votes cast. GOP claims Jonas' 1954 loss due to low GOP voter turnout. Total vote cast in 1952 was 204,206, when Jonas won by 23,318 and ran ahead of Eisenhower, who carried 12th by 21,560 votes. District undergoing population change with many new Jewish residents. Both parties working for big voter turnout. Jonas lists top issues as integrity and honesty in federal government, tax reductions and foreign aid. Boyle hopes to capitalize on scandals in state GOP administration, lists his issues as more social welfare, increased public housing, aid to small business and GOP-backed attempts to boost postal rates.

● 21st (East Central-Springfield) -- PETER F. MACK Jr. (D), Carlinville businessman, vs. Frederic S. O'Hara (R), Springfield businessman.

GOP leaders rate their chances excellent to pick up 21st, primarily because O'Hara is young, aggressive campaigner known locally as "the Billy Graham of Springfield." Democrats claim O'Hara's chances -- like the chances of the rest of the GOP ticket -- were hurt with disclosure of scandals in the state Republican administration. Democrats say Mack is stronger than party in district. Although 21st gerrymandered in 1951 to advantage of GOP, Mack won by 8,778 votes in 1952, when 21st went for Eisenhower by 19,818, out of about 180,000 cast. Mack won in 1954 by 14,577 out of 152,425 votes cast. Mack hammering on farm issues, corruption in state administration. O'Hara riding Eisenhower coattails. O'Hara claims Mack has been "phantom" Congressman; Mack claims his voting record is good.

● 25th (Rural-Southern) -- KENNETH J. GRAY (D), West Frankfort businessman and auctioneer, vs. Samuel J. Scott (R), Metropolis attorney.

GOP is out to recapture 25th, which Gray took away from seven-term veteran C. W. (Runt) Bishop (R) in 1954 by 6,903 out of 132,221 votes cast. Bishop's loss in 1954 due partially to decline of coal industry, particularly in West Frankfort area, and resulting unemployment. GOP regards Scott as good campaigner who can recapture district with Eisenhower on ticket. Gray campaigning on his aid to depressed areas, including West Frankfort "sink or swim" rally he called last December to underscore problem of area. Entire GOP ticket carried 25th handily in 1952, but it went Democratic, though by a narrower margin, in top offices in 1954.

Indiana

● 3rd (South Bend) -- John Brademas (D), South Bend insurance man, vs. F. Jay Nimitz (R), South Bend attorney.

Democrats rate 3rd their best chance for pickup in state. Rep. Shepard J. Crumpacker (R) is retiring after three terms. In 1954 he barely nosed out newcomer Brademas by 2,033 out of 170,499 votes cast. It was district's closest Congressional race in history. Unemployment in automotive, farm equipment industries major factor in 1954 and now. In 1955 Brademas became research director for Stevenson campaign, resigned early in 1956 to run, has been campaigning since on unemployment, farm, school aid and foreign policy issues. With Nimitz as nominee, GOP rates chances at least 50-50 to hold 3rd, which Eisenhower carried by 25,560 out of 199,301 votes cast in 1952. Strong labor area.

● 6th (Terre Haute-West Central) -- JOHN W. KING (D), Green-castle accountant and farmer, vs. CECIL M. HARDEN (R), Covington teacher.

Big question in 6th is how big a vote Terre Haute gives its mayor, Ralph Tucker (D), in his race for governor. If Tucker's vote is heavy, Democrats expect to take 6th. Labor strong force in Terre Haute area. Mrs. Harden, a four-term, beat King in

1954 by 6,475 out of 128,267 votes cast. Both she and Mr. Eisenhower carried district handily in 1952, but 1950 and 1948 contests were close. Administration farm program major issue in corn-hog-wheat area that suffered price set-backs during past year. GOP factionalism could hurt Mrs. Harden, the national committeewoman. Republicans say she consistently wins close contests.

Kentucky

● 3rd (Louisville) -- Philip P. Ardery (D), Jefferson County attorney, vs. JOHN M. ROBSON JR. (R), Louisville attorney.

Robson, a two-term, won by only 573 out of 143,573 votes cast in 1954. Outcome of two Senate contests will influence outcome of race. Senate candidate Thruston B. Morton (R) served as 3rd's Representative from 1947-53. Robson getting support from top-level GOP speakers, including President Eisenhower and Nixon. Ardery has strong backing of Sen. Earle C. Clements (D) and ex-Gov. Lawrence W. Wetherby (D). Division in labor support between Ardery, Robson. Third has been GOP since 1946. In 1952 Eisenhower carried it by 17,427 out of 181,447 votes cast, and Robson won by 14,694 out of 175,961.

Massachusetts

● 10th (Newton-Brookline, part of Boston) -- Jackson J. Holtz (D), Brookline attorney, vs. LAURENCE CURTIS (R), Boston attorney.

GOP strength has deteriorated in area in recent years, although traditionally GOP. Truman carried 10th narrowly in 1948, even though it consistently gave high majorities to Christian A. Herter (R), who represented 10th for 10 years prior to his election as governor in 1952. Curtis won by 17,200 out of 186,290 votes in 1952; Mr. Eisenhower by 24,567 out of 198,909. But in 1954 Curtis won by only 1,894 out of 143,110 votes cast. Holtz opposed him in 1954. Holtz is former assistant U.S. district attorney and former national commander of Jewish War Veterans. Tenth has undergone considerable population change in recent years, with heavy influx of Jewish residents. Many independent voters in area. Middle East policy major issue. Curtis has not entrenched himself in 10th as Herter did. Rated toss-up by both parties.

Michigan

● 6th (Flint-Northwest of Detroit) -- DON HAYWORTH (D), East Lansing teacher, vs. Charles C. Chamberlain (R), East Lansing attorney, Ingham County prosecutor.

Sixth historically GOP until New Deal days, but in recent years elections have been close. Hayworth won in 1954 by 3,900 out of 157,114 votes cast. Auto production cutbacks a major factor in his win with estimated 72,000 autoworkers in 6th. Hayworth has labor support. GOP out to get back 6th this year. GOP polled higher primary vote than Democrats, and Chamberlain held to be stronger nominee than ex-Rep. Kit Clardy (1953-55), who lost out in primary. Clardy ran considerably behind Eisenhower in 1952, who won by 39,549 out of 207,477 votes. Chamberlain defeated four in primary, including Clardy. He is former Citizens-for-Eisenhower official, has strong party backing. Farm, labor issues important here.

● 7th (Eastern-Port Huron-East Detroit) -- Dr. Ira D. McCoy (D), Bad Axe physician and surgeon, vs. Robert J. McIntosh (R), former Port Huron postmaster.

"The thumb" of eastern Michigan traditionally has been GOP, but both parties concede the area a toss-up this year. Rep. Jesse P. Wolcott (R), who represented it since 1931, is retiring. Wolcott won by 7,854 out of 135,752 votes cast in 1954 against McCoy, who made an unusually strong campaign. McCoy lost this year's primary to Jacob F. Theut of Centerline, but Theut withdrew Sept. 24, and McCoy was designated the nominee. GOP concerned about vote in industrial Macomb County, which has 40 percent of the districts vote, and the farm vote in St. Clair. Dairy farmers in Port Huron struck recently. Eisenhower carried 7th District overwhelmingly in 1952, and McIntosh riding his coattails. Area becoming increasingly industrialized, labor more potent.

• 12th (Upper Peninsula) -- Joseph S. Mack (D), Ironwood welder, vs. JOHN B. BENNETT (R), Ontonagon attorney.

Democrats rate 12th and 7th Districts their most likely pickups in state. Labor an important political factor in mining areas, and Mack has received some labor support that Bennett has had previously. Bennett generally runs ahead of ticket in 12th, has held it, with the exception of one term, since 1943. Democrats have had controversial candidates in recent years, claim Mack is much stronger than ex-Rep. Frank E. Hook (D 1935-43; 45-47) who ran in 1954, lost in 1956 primary. Hook is backing Mack. President Eisenhower expected to help Bennett; Gov. G. Mennen Williams (D) to help Mack in 12th. Mr. Eisenhower and Gov. Williams carried 12th in last elections.

• 17th (Detroit Suburbs) -- MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS (D), Detroit attorney, vs. George E. Smith (R), Detroit attorney, ex-banker.

This is second district that Democrats picked up in 1954 that GOP expects to regain in 1956. A new district in 1952, former Rep. Charles G. Oakman (R 1953-55) won that year by 10,516 out of 178,796 votes cast over Mrs. Griffiths. When unemployment hit area in 1954, Mrs. Griffiths defeated Oakman by 6,645 out of 144,242 votes cast. Previously area has gone GOP by fair margins. Mayor Albert E. Cobo of Detroit, who lives in District, is GOP nominee for governor and is expected to run well in area. So is Mr. Eisenhower, who carried 17th by 27,140 out of 178,920 votes cast in 1952. Mrs. Griffiths is wife of Hicks Griffiths, former law partner of Gov. Williams (D). Business, labor and welfare issues being delineated by nominees, both very active campaigners and well known in area.

Minnesota

• 3rd (Minneapolis and Suburbs) -- ROY W. WIER (D), labor union official, vs. George Mikan (R), Edina attorney.

Popularity contest is on between Wier, four-term Representative long active in trade union movement in Minneapolis, and Mikan, famous college and Minneapolis Laker professional basketball star. President Eisenhower carried 3rd by 3,892 out of 215,527 votes in 1952, when Wier won by 9,688 out of 220,328. In 1954 Wier won by 16,018 out of 180,796 votes cast. Democrats point out Wier has won close contests before, is good campaigner; also that Truman carried 3rd by heavy vote in 1948.

• 9th (Northwest) -- COYA KNUTSON (D), Oklee teacher, vs. ex-Rep. Harold C. Hagen (R 1943-55), former publisher, of Crookston.

Mrs. Knutson ousted Hagen, a six-term member, in 1954 by 2,335 out of 95,663 votes cast by campaigning on farm issues in this rural area. She carried a basket of eggs, then selling at low prices. Hagen is trying for comeback. Mrs. Knutson is much stronger in area now than she was two years ago. But he is given good chance because of Democratic factionalism. Mrs. Knutson incurred wrath of Democratic-Farmer-Labor leaders when she supported Estes Kefauver in state Presidential preferential primary. He defeated Adlai Stevenson to embarrass DFL leaders. Farm issues sole issue. Ninth went for Truman in 1948, for Mr. Eisenhower by 16,645 out of 112,966 votes cast in 1952, when Hagen carried it by 24,528 out of 116,276 votes cast.

Missouri

• 4th (Part of Kansas City, Jackson County, Independence) -- GEORGE H. CHRISTOPHER (D), Butler farmer, vs. ex-Rep. Jeffrey P. Hillelson (R 1953-55), Kansas City businessman, former government official.

Fourth switched in past two elections, 1952 redistricting favored Democrats. This is return match between Christopher and Hillelson, Christopher winning in 1954 by 4,860 out of 121,164 votes cast. Hillelson won in 1952 by 12,089 out of 181,887 votes cast; Ike by 18,360 out of 184,651. President Truman won his home district in 1948, prior to redistricting. Hillelson riding like coattails, Christopher stressing farm issues. Outcome depends largely on how 4th goes in Presidential race. Strong Democratic state ticket bolstering Christopher.

• 6th (St. Joseph, fringe of Kansas City) -- W. R. HULL JR. (D), Weston farmer, vs. Stanley I. Dale (R), St. Joseph mayor.

Sixth, like 4th, switched in past two elections, 1952 redistricting favored Democrats. Hull, first term, won in 1954 by 8,177 out of 112,583 votes cast. President Eisenhower won by 20,175 out of 173,036 votes cast in 1952, when ex-Rep. William C. Cole (R 1943-49; 1953-55) won by 8,191 out of 170,665 votes cast. Hull has advantage of incumbency, trend in state toward party, strong backing of Sens. Thomas C. Hennings (D) and Stuart Symington (D). Dale conducting personal campaign, is well-known in district as he ran for governor in 1952 primary, and made good showing in area. He hopes GOP voters in Kansas City suburbs will help put him over, says Hull is a "do-nothing" Congressman. Race will be affected by Presidential, Senate contests.

Montana

• 2nd (Eastern-Great Falls, Billings) -- LeRoy A. Anderson (D), Conrad farmer, vs. ORVIN J. FJARE (R), Big Timber businessman.

Democrats say their chances are excellent to beat Fjare, who beat Anderson by 1,608 out of 130,589 votes cast in 1954. President Eisenhower carried 2nd in 1952 by 33,941 out of 150,435 votes cast and ex-Rep. Wesley A. D'Ewart (R 1945-55) carried it in 1952 by 35,007 out of 145,413 votes cast. It went for Truman in 1948. Fjare has advantage of Eisenhower being on ticket and incumbency, but he has not entrenched himself as had D'Ewart. Anderson is veteran state legislator, commanding general of reserve infantry division. Eisenhower farm and power program, payment to Crow Indian tribe for Yellowtail dam site major issues. Anderson has labor support.

Nevada

• At Large -- Ex-Rep. Walter Baring (D 1949-53), Reno businessman, vs. Richard W. Horton (R), Reno attorney.

Nevada's sole seat has seesawed between parties since 1944, sometimes by narrow margins. Democrats claim it is their turn, and their prospects are good. Baring lost in 1952 to Rep. Clifton Young (R 1953-57), retiring to run for Senate, by 771 out of 80,595 votes cast. Horton hopes to benefit from Eisenhower coattails, which were ample in 1952 when the President won by 18,814 out of 82,190 votes cast. Baring benefiting from resurgence of Democratic organization and backing of Sen. Alan Bible (D), who ran very well in primary and is favored to win reelection.

New Jersey

• 6th (Union County) -- HARRISON A. WILLIAMS JR. (D), Westfield attorney, vs. Florence P. Dwyer (R), Elizabeth state legislator.

Sixth upset its long-standing GOP tradition in 1953 when it elected Williams by 1,997 out of 135,589 in a special election. Williams went on to win in 1954 by 21,620 out of 153,049 votes cast. By contrast, Sen. Clifford P. Case (R), who represented the 6th from 1943-53, carried it by 54,093 out of 189,637 votes cast in 1952 when Mr. Eisenhower carried it by 44,549 out of 203,245 votes cast. This year GOP putting on all-out drive to get 6th back. Democrats say Williams is a proved vote-getter. He has labor support and it is an issue in the campaign.

New York

Four New York City districts are doubtful, three Republican, one Democratic. All will be greatly influenced by the Presidential race and Senate contest between Mayor Robert F. Wagner (D) of New York City and Attorney General Jacob K. Javits (R), also of New York City. Some question the support the Democratic organization will give Stevenson-Kefauver ticket and Wagner, since there are many reluctant to have City Council President Abe Stark (D) take over as mayor, as he would if Wagner were elected. Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr.'s (D N.Y.) Oct 11 announcement that he would support Mr. Eisenhower because of the latter's civil rights stand may also affect the vote in New York City.

• 6th (Queens) -- LESTER HOLTZMAN (D), Rego Park attorney, vs. A. H. Buschmann (R), Elmhurst attorney.

Holtzman has Liberal party endorsement. In 1952 Holtzman barely squeezed through by 541 votes out of 211,598 cast, while Eisenhower won by 6,926 out of 216,076 votes cast. In 1954 Holtzman strengthened his hold on 6th, winning by 13,352 out of 148,714 votes cast. Area redistricted in 1951, but has gone Republican in last four Presidential elections, while electing Democrats to House except in 1946 and February, 1952, special election. Gov. Averell Harriman (D) helped bolster Holtzman in 6th in 1954. Buschmann regarded as good candidate by GOP.

• 12th (Brooklyn) -- Ex-Rep. Donald L. O'Toole (D 1937-53), attorney, vs. FRANCIS E. DORN (R), attorney.

Most famous gerrymandered district in nation, 12th was drawn by John R. Crews, Kings County GOP chairman, in 1951 to try to carve GOP district out of Brooklyn, a Democratic stronghold. Dorn won in 1952 by 10,245 out of 144,076 votes cast; Mr. Eisenhower carried it by 16,637 out of 158,866 votes cast. In 1954 Dorn won by 2,523 out of 96,375 votes cast. He beat O'Toole both times. O'Toole has Liberal party endorsement. Democrats expect Wagner to run well in 12th, which has had some Democratic influx since redistricting. But Dorn, now two-term, has gained reputation for aiding constituents. O'Toole is hurt by accusations made in primary that he did not live in district.

• 15th (Staten Island-Brooklyn) -- Ralph Di Iorio (D), Staten Island, assistant district attorney of Richmond County, vs. JOHN H. RAY (R), Staten Island attorney. Ray, a two-term, at 70, lost strength in 15th from 1952 to 1954. In 1952 he won by 27,485 out of 167,446 votes; in 1954 by 3,728 out of 108,609 votes. Mr. Eisenhower swept district in 1952, should help Ray. Di Iorio regarded as exceptionally good campaigner, has Liberal party endorsement. Democrats regard 15th as likely pickup.

• 17th (Manhattan) -- Anthony B. Akers (D), attorney, vs. FREDERIC R. COUDERT JR. (R), attorney.

Return match between the veteran Coudert, a five-term, and Akers, who came within 314 votes out of 97,684 cast of beating Coudert in 1954 in closest House contest in nation. In 1952 Coudert won by 24,197 out of 148,772 votes cast and Eisenhower by 25,361 out of 153,418 votes cast. Akers, running on nine-point program to aid district, claims Coudert has poor record, is "absentee" Congressman. Coudert running on record. Akers has Liberal party endorsement. Formerly a "silk stocking" district, 17th now undergoing population change with more low-income families moving in. Javits, who served in neighboring 21st District from 1947-55, expected to help Coudert in 17th.

Ohio

• 6th (Southern-Portsmouth) -- JAMES G. POLK (D), Highland farmer, vs. Albert L. Daniels (R), Greenfield, attorney, former mayor, state representative and state senator.

Appears to be closest district in state. Question is whether Polk's popularity in 6th can overcome basic GOP strength. Polk barely won in 1952 by 324 out of 134,116 votes cast, while President Eisenhower carried it by 20,224 out of 146,824 votes cast. In 1954 Polk won by 4,513 out of 103,575 votes cast. Since Polk came back to Congress in 1949 (he previously served from 1931-41) some GOP territory was added to 6th in 1952. GOP claims factionalism has diminished in area, and Daniels, former state senator, is proved vote-getter. GOP claims "if we can put over our man this time, we'll never lose 6th again."

• 9th (Toledo) -- THOMAS L. ASHLEY (D), Waterville attorney, vs. Harvey G. Straub (R), Toledo attorney.

Always a battleground. Strong labor area, but GOP won in 1944, 1946; Independent in 1950, 1952. Ashley, who won in 1954, has not solidified himself, but Democrats expect him to win. GOP backing Straub as a winner. He resigned from Lucas County Common Pleas Court to run, and GOP says he has "pulling power" in Democratic areas. No three-way race in 9th this year, as when in past three elections ex-Rep. Frazier Reams (1951-55), ex-Democrat, ran as Independent. Michael V. DiSalle, Democratic nominee for governor, is ex-mayor of Toledo, expected to bolster Democratic ticket in area. Ashley won by 3,815 out of 133,060 votes cast in three-way contest in 1954. President Eisenhower carried 9th by 6,447 out of 188,533 votes cast in 1952.

Oregon

• 2nd (Eastern) -- Albert C. Ullman (D), Baker businessman, vs. SAM COON (R), Baker cattle rancher.

In 1954 Coon beat Ullman in this power-conscious area by 4,256 out of 83,206 votes cast. Ullman has been president of the Hells Canyon Development Assn. in Baker, is a bitter critic of the Administration's "partnership" power policy which Coon favors and defends. Other issues are conservation, farm policies and aid to education. Mr. Eisenhower should help Coon in 2nd, as he carried it by 25,110 out of 102,216 votes in 1952.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania has more marginal districts than any other state. The outcome likely will be determined by the outcome in the Presidential and state-wide contests. Democrats have been increasing strength since 1951, when Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D), now running for the Senate, was elected first Democratic mayor of Philadelphia in 67 years. In 1954 state elected Democratic governor and picked up three House seats. It is basically GOP outside of large urban areas, but GOP strength minimized by long-standing Republican factional battles. Pennsylvania is Mr. Eisenhower's adopted state, and GOP counting heavily on him to bolster GOP ticket. He carried it in 1952 by 269,520 majority out of 4,580,969 votes cast. Democrats counting heavily on strong Democratic organizations in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and on Clark to aid party ticket. Democrats have some concern, however, about Negro vote in Philadelphia, since GOP got larger Negro vote than usual in primary. State's 32 electoral votes considered crucial in Presidential contest, so great importance attached to state by both parties. Each party has accused other of scandals and corruption in letting construction contracts.

• 6th (Northwest-Philadelphia) -- Ex-Rep. Herbert J. McGlinchey (D 1945-47), businessman, vs. HUGH D. SCOTT JR. (R), attorney.

One of closest districts in 1954 election. Scott, former chairman of GOP National Committee, won by 1,741 out of 146,915 votes cast. District undergoing population change from "silk stocking" to working class. Scott emphasizing civil rights issues. Clark and Democratic organization expected to aid McGlinchey, only Philadelphia Congressional Democratic nominee without labor endorsement. He is close friend of Rep. William J. Green Jr., Philadelphia Democratic chairman. Sixth was close in several recent elections. Mr. Eisenhower carried it by 7,029 out of 182,945 votes cast in 1952.

• 8th (Bucks-Lehigh Counties -- Allentown) -- John P. Fullam (D), Fairless Hills attorney, vs. Willard S. Curtin (R), Morrisville attorney.

Democrats regard their chances for a pick-up here as excellent. Although basically GOP area, 8th has shown recent Democratic trend. Rep. Karl C. King (R 1951-57), retiring. Curtin is former Bucks County district attorney. Fullam, regarded by Democrats as good campaigner, came within 3,049 out of 122,745 votes cast of beating King in 1954. Population changes in district. New steel plant at Morrisville brought in 60,000 new residents, the majority Democratic. GOP Bucks County chairman resigned under pressure in 1955 on charges of misuse of county funds, and Democrats made significant gains in Bucks and Lehigh County offices in 1955 -- winning control of Buck County Commission for first time in 53 years. Democrats claim if they can hold down loss in normally GOP Bucks County, they can win district. Mr. Eisenhower should help Curtin here. He carried 8th by 28,562 out of 143,808 votes cast in 1952.

• 10th (Northeast-Scranton) -- Jerome P. Casey (D), Scranton attorney and hotel owner, vs. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG (R), Susquehanna attorney.

Democrats bullish about 10th because Casey regarded as good candidate. He is well known in Scranton where he owns a large hotel. Democratic leaders strongly behind Casey, who claims Carrigg failed to aid depressed area. At Scranton federal grand jury investigating alleged "politics for profit" by Democrats in connection with construction of \$34 million Tobyhanna Army Signal Corps Depot. Lackawanna heavily Democratic, rest of district strongly GOP. Much depends on which party gets out vote. GOP has been plagued with factionalism over patronage. Carrigg

House Races - 6

scraped through by 1,469 out of 147,561 votes cast in 1954. Mr. Eisenhower carried 10th by 17,843 out of 169,218 votes cast in 1952, but area -- prior to 1952 redistricting -- went for Truman by narrow margin in 1948.

- 11th (Luzerne County-Wilkes-Barre, Hazleton) -- DANIEL J. FLOOD (D), Wilkes-Barre attorney, vs. Enoch H. Thomas Jr. (R), Shavertown attorney.

GOP calls 11th "marginal since the beginning of the century." It is one of most consistently marginal districts in country. Flood has won and lost it since 1944, being elected in 1944, 1948, 1950 and 1954. GOP factionalism has held down strength in area. It is in heart of anthracite coal section of state, and decline of coal industry and rail loadings major local problem. Flood lost 11th by 588 out of 160,032 votes cast in 1952, when President Eisenhower carried it by 16,388 out of 162,261. In 1954 Flood won by 2,572 out of 137,936 votes cast.

- 19th (Southeastern-York) -- JAMES M. QUIGLEY (D), Camp Hill attorney, vs. ex-Rep. S. Walter Stauffer (R 1953-55), York businessman.

This is Mr. Eisenhower's home district, also home district of Democratic Gov. George M. Leader. Eisenhower carried it by 23,846 out of 140,243 votes in 1952 -- before he had taken up residence at Gettysburg. Leader carried it by 16,904 out of 122,183 votes cast in 1954. Presidential and state-wide contests will be major factor in vote here. Democratic factionalism in York County. Stauffer carried it by 6,301 out of 138,631 votes in 1952, but Quigley beat Stauffer by 2,514 out of 121,702 votes cast in 1954. District consistently has close elections.

- 22nd (West Central-Johnstown) -- Joseph C. Dolan (D), Johnstown teacher and high school coach, vs. JOHN P. SAYLOR (R), Johnstown attorney.

Rough country for the GOP to hold, but neither party underestimates Saylor's campaigning ability. He is one of four GOP House Members who carried a district in 1952 that Stevenson won. Saylor won by 7,173 out of 147,609 votes cast while Stevenson won by 2,693 out of 149,019 votes cast. Two years later Gov. Leader carried it by 20,607 votes while Saylor won by 4,796 out of more than 127,700 votes cast. Saylor has had the endorsement of the United Mine Workers in the past. This year Cambria County Democratic Chairman John R. Torquato, who is Secretary of Labor in the Leader administration, is working for a big Democratic vote in the Presidential and Senate races.

- 25th (Western-New Castle) -- FRANK M. CLARK (D), Bessemer police officer, vs. Sidney L. Lockley (R), New Castle businessman.

District always close in Presidential years, although ex-Rep. Louis E. Graham (R 1939-55), repeatedly won re-election until Clark beat him in 1954 by 8,566 out of 123,880 votes. Clark has only a shaky hold on 25th. He is counting on big Democratic win, particularly in Senate contest, to help him in district. GOP regards its chances good for a pick-up here. Lockley is well-known New Castle civic leader, is president of a machine company. Eisenhower carried 25th by 5,667 out of 155,631 votes in 1952, and GOP carried it in Presidential race in 1948 by about same margin. Clark lost 25th to Graham in 1952 by 1,363 out of 153,791 votes cast.

South Dakota

- 1st (Eastern) -- George S. McGovern (D), Mitchell college professor, vs. HAROLD O. LOVRE (R), Watertown attorney.

Two men long active in party organizations in South Dakota are locked in a tight contest over the farm question. Lovre is former GOP state chairman, McGovern served from 1953-56 as full-time executive secretary of the state's under-dog Democratic party that has shown substantial gains in past two years. Both men favor high price supports for farm crops, but Administration's stand for flexible supports has hurt Lovre. McGovern raking over Lovre's voting record, and Lovre claims McGovern's name has appeared in House Un-American Activity Committee records. Farm dissatisfaction and McGovern's campaign ability makes this normally solid GOP district doubtful. Lovre carried it in 1954 by 28,268 out of 177,086 votes cast. Mr. Eisenhower and Lovre swept it by nearly 70 percent of vote in 1952.

Texas

- 5th (Dallas) -- Henry Wade (D), district attorney, vs. BRUCE ALGER (R), businessman.

One of two districts won by GOP in South in 1954. Democrats claim they lost it largely due to intra-party split in Dallas. With Democrats united behind Wade, well-known as district attorney, party claims chances excellent to win back 5th. GOP says it is tossup. Dallas Morning News has backed both men on basis of their records. In 1952 Mr. Eisenhower overwhelmingly carried 5th -- by 48,824 out of 187,612 votes cast.

Virginia

- 9th (Southwest-Bristol) -- W. PAT JENNINGS (D), Marion businessman, vs. ex-Rep. William C. Wampler (R 1953-55), Bristol newspaperman and former federal official.

Jennings defeated Wampler by 999 out of 77,691 votes cast in 1954. Poll taxes probably will decide outcome here. Each party has accused other of election fraud recently. GOP claims Democrats "stole" 1954 election by fraudulently mailing absentee ballots. In 1954 a grand jury investigated complaints that 10 percent of ballots cast in Lee and Wise Counties were mailed. This year election of four GOP officials in Lee County was voided on complaint by county Democrats that GOP made bulk poll tax payments. In 1952 Wampler won by 2,312 out of 67,783 votes cast; Mr. Eisenhower by 4,555 out of 74,397 votes cast.

West Virginia

- 4th (Western-Huntington-Parkersburg) -- M. G. BURNSIDE (D), Huntington businessman and professor, vs. ex-Rep. Will E. Neal (R 1953-55), Huntington physician.

Normally at 81 a man is not running for office and getting elected, but Neal stands a very good chance of doing so this year. A scandal in the Huntington city government and widespread dissatisfaction with the operation of the state government under Democratic administrations have hurt Burnside's chances of holding the 4th -- and he never has had a firm grip on this switch district. Neal beat him by 10,285 out of 153,923 votes in 1952, when Mr. Eisenhower carried 4th by 17,330 out of 153,514 votes. And he nosed out Neal by 504 out of 112,492 votes in 1954. Burnside was one of few Congressmen who backed Kefauver for Presidency prior to convention. He has strong labor support. Outcome of race will be affected by Presidential contest. Truman carried 4th in 1948 by narrow margin, bringing in Burnside. District has switched four times in 10 years, and in each Presidential year.

FIGHTING DISTRICTS

Following is a state-by-state list of the districts in which the incumbent party has the edge. Incumbents' names are listed in capital letters. Democratic nominees are listed first, as their party controls House. Term "leans Democratic" or "leans Republican" is used following the listing of nominees, meaning party designated has the edge, but opposing party has fighting chance to win.

California

- 7th (Oakland-Berkeley) -- Laurance L. Cross (D), former mayor of Berkeley, vs. JOHN J. ALLEN JR. (R), Oakland attorney. Leans Republican.

- 9th (San Mateo) -- James T. McKay (D), Daly City attorney, vs. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER (R), San Mateo savings and loan association official. Leans Republican.

- 12th (Fresno) -- B. F. SISK (D), Fresno businessman, vs. Robert G. Moore (R), Fresno businessman. Leans Democratic.

- 29th (Southern) -- D.S. Saund (D), Westmoreland municipal judge, vs. Jacqueline Cochran Odium (R), Indio businesswoman and aviatrix, for seat being vacated by retiring Rep. John R. Phillips (R 1943-57). Leans Republican.

Colorado

- 3rd (Pueblo-Colorado Springs) -- Alva B. Adams Jr. (D), Pueblo businessman and son of the late Sen. Alva B. Adams (D 1933-41), vs. J. EDGAR CHENOWETH (R), Trinidad attorney. Leans Republican.
- 4th (Western Slope-Grand Junction) -- WAYNE N. ASPINALL (D), Palisade attorney, vs. Hugh L. Caldwell (R), Meeker, Rio Blanco County Commissioner. Leans Democratic.

Connecticut

- 1st (Hartford) -- Patrick J. Ward (D), Hartford, president pro tem of state senate, vs. Edwin H. May Jr. (R), Wethersfield insurance man and leader in Hartford Junior Chamber of Commerce, for seat being vacated by retiring Rep. Thomas J. Dodd (D 1953-57). Leans Democratic.
- 2nd (New London-Eastern) -- Douglas Bennet (D), Lyme businessman, formerly executive assistant to ex-Gov. Chester Bowles (D), vs. HORACE SEELY-BROWN (R), Pomfret Center, fruit farmer and teacher. Leans Republican.
- 3rd (New Haven) -- Robert N. Giaimo (D), attorney, North Haven selectman, vs. ALBERT W. CRETELLA (R), North Haven attorney. Leans Republican.
- 5th (Northwest-Waterbury) -- Luke Martin (D), Thomaston attorney, vs. JAMES T. PATTERSON (R), Watertown, former federal official. Leans Republican.

Delaware

- At Large -- HARRIS B. McDOWELL JR. (D), Middletown businessman, farmer, vs. Harry G. Haskell Jr. (R), Westover Hills businessman. Leans Democratic.

Florida

- 4th (Miami-Dade County) -- DANTE B. FASCELL (D), Miami attorney, vs. Leland Hyzer (R), Miami attorney. Leans Democratic.
- 7th (Sarasota-Lakeland) -- JAMES A. HALEY (D), Sarasota businessman, vs. G. M. Nelson (R), Sarasota, retired Army colonel. Leans Democratic.

Georgia

- 5th (DeKalb-Fulton Counties-Atlanta) -- JAMES C. DAVIS (D), Stone Mountain attorney, vs. Randolph W. Thrower (R), Atlanta attorney. Leans Democratic.

Idaho

- 1st (Northern) -- GRACIE B. PFOST (D), Nampa businesswoman, vs. Louise Shaddock (R), Coeur d'Alene newspaperwoman. Leans Democratic.

Illinois

- 2nd (Chicago) -- BARRATT O'HARA (D), Chicago attorney, vs. George B. McKibbin (R), Chicago attorney, and chairman of Illinois Public Aid Commission. Leans Democratic.
- 3rd (Chicago) -- JAMES C. MURRAY (D), attorney, vs. Emmet F. Byrne (R), attorney. Leans Democratic.
- 4th (South Chicago) -- Michael Hinko (D), Park Forest attorney, vs. WILLIAM E. McVEY (R), Harvey, university professor. Leans Republican.
- 19th (West-Central-Rock Island, Moline-Rural) -- Martin P. Sutor (D) Galesburg farmer and state representative vs. ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD (R), Canton attorney. Leans Republican.
- 23rd (Southern) -- Albert R. Imle (D), Hillsboro attorney, former aide to Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D Ill.), vs. CHARLES W. VURSELL (R), Salem, former newspaper publisher. Leans Republican.

Indiana

- 5th (Anderson-Kokomo-Marion-Rural) -- William Catlin Whitehead (D), Anderson attorney, vs. JOHN V. BEAMER (R), Wabash businessman, farmer. Leans Republican.

- 8th (Southern-Evansville) -- WINFIELD K. DENTON (D), Evansville attorney, vs. ex-Rep. D. Bailey Merrill (R 1953-55) Evansville attorney. Leans Democratic.
- 9t (Southern-Rural -- Wilfrid J. Ullrich (D), Aurora pharmacist, vs. EARL WILSON (R), Bedford teacher. Leans Republican.

Iowa

- 2nd (Northeastern) -- Leonard G. Wolf (D), Elkader retail feed dealer, vs. HENRY O. TALLE (R), Decorah teacher. Leans Republican.
- 4th (Southern) -- Steven V. Carter (D), Leon attorney, vs. KARL M. LeCOMPTE (R), Corydon publisher. Leans Republican.
- 5th (Des Moines) -- William F. Denman (D), Des Moines attorney and state representative, vs. PAUL CUNNINGHAM (R), Des Moines attorney. Leans Republican.
- 6th (Northcentral) -- Merwin Coad (D), Boone minister, vs. JAMES I. DOLLIVER (R), Fort Dodge attorney. Leans Republican.

Kansas

- 1st (Northeast-Topeka) -- Ex-Rep. Howard S. Miller (D 1953-55), Hiawatha attorney, farmer and stockman, vs. WILLIAM H. AVERY (R), Wakefield farmer and stockman. Leans Republican.
- 4th (East-Central-Wichita) -- John D. Montgomery (D), Junction City publisher, vs. EDWARD H. REES (R), Emporia attorney. Leans Republican.
- 5th (Southwestern) -- J. Floyd Breeding (D), Rolla farmer and rancher, ex-state legislator, vs. State Sen. John W. Crutcher (R), Hutchinson farmer and businessman, to succeed retiring Rep. Clifford R. Hope (R 1927-57), of Garden City. Leans Republican.
- 6th (Northwestern) -- Elmo J. Mahoney (D), Dorrance farmer, vs. WINT SMITH (R), Mankato attorney. Leans Republican.

Maryland

- 1st (Eastern Shore) -- Hamilton P. Fox (D), Salisbury attorney, vs. EDWARD T. MILLER (R), Easton attorney. Leans Republican.
- 5th (Southern) -- RICHARD E. LANKFORD (D), Annapolis attorney, vs. William B. Prendergast (R), Bay Ridge, professor at U.S. Naval Academy. Leans Democratic.
- 6th (Western) -- John R. Foley (D), Kensington attorney, vs. DeWITT S. HYDE (R), Bethesda attorney. Leans Republican.
- 7th (Baltimore) -- SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL (D), businessman, vs. David A. Halley (R), former secretary to Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin (R), while McKeldin was mayor of Baltimore and former secretary to Sen. John Marshall Butler (R). Leans Democratic.

Massachusetts

- 2nd (Springfield-South Central) -- EDWARD P. BOLAND (D), Springfield politician, vs. Foster W. Doty (R), Springfield banker. Leans Democratic.
- 8th (Everett, Medford, Boston Suburbs) -- TORBERT H. MACDONALD (D), Malden attorney, vs. C. Eugene Farnam (R), Medford state senator. Leans Democratic.

Michigan

- 9th (West Central) -- William E. Baker (D), superintendent of Mesick Consolidated Schools, vs. Robert P. Griffin (R), Traverse City attorney, to succeed Rep. Ruth Thompson (R 1951-57) of Whitehall, whom Griffin defeated in primary. Leans Republican.
- 11th (Upper Peninsula) -- Prentiss M. Brown Jr. (D), St. Ignace attorney and son of ex-Sen Prentiss M. Brown (D 1936-43), vs. VICTOR A. KNOX (R), Sault Ste. Marie businessman. Leans Republican.
- 18th (Detroit suburbs -- Oakland County) -- Paul Sutton (D), Royal Oak businessman, radio and television actor, vs. State Sen. William S. Broomfield (R), Royal Oak insurance salesman, to succeed retiring Rep. George A. Dondero (R 1933-57) of Royal Oak. Leans Republican.

Minnesota

- 5th (Minneapolis) -- Joseph Robbie (D), attorney, who ran as Democratic nominee for governor of South Dakota in 1950, vs.

House Races - 8

WALTER H. JUDD (R), physician-surgeon, missionary. Leans Republican.

• 7th (Southwestern) -- Clint Haroldson (D), Renville farmer, vs. H. CARL ANDERSEN (R), Tyler farmer. Leans Republican.

Missouri

• 11th (Central-Jefferson City) -- MORGAN M. MOULDER (D), Camdenton attorney, vs. George H. Miller (R), Sedalia attorney. Leans Democratic.

Nebraska

• 2nd (Omaha) -- Joseph V. Benesch (D), attorney, vs. Glenn Cunningham (R), insurance man, former mayor of Omaha (1948-54), to succeed retiring Rep. James B. Chase (R 1955-57). Leans Republican.

New Hampshire

• 1st (Eastern-Manchester) -- James B. Sullivan (D), Manchester attorney, vs. CHESTER E. MERROW (R), Center Ossipee teacher. Leans Republican.

New Jersey

• 11th (Newark-Orange) -- HUGH J. ADDONIZIO (D), Newark businessman, vs. Chester K. Ligham (R), East Orange attorney. Leans Democratic.

• 12th (Newark) -- Irving L. Hodes (D), Newark attorney, vs. ROBERT W. KEAN (R), Livingston businessman. Leans Republican.

• 5th (Queens) -- J. J. Quinn (D), with Liberal party endorsement, St. Albans attorney, vs. ALBERT H. BOSCH (R), Woodhaven attorney. Leans Republican.

• 25th (Bronx) -- Edward A. Cunningham (D), attorney and New York City Councilman, vs. PAUL A. FINO (R), attorney, vs. Bernard Tobacman (Liberal), accountant. Leans Republican.

• 41st (Buffalo) -- Edward P. Jehle (D), with Liberal endorsement, Buffalo businessman, deputy parks commissioner, secretary to late Rep. Chester C. Gorski (D 1949-50), vs. EDWARD P. RADWAN (R), attorney. Leans Republican.

• 42nd (Buffalo-Erie County) -- James B. Kane Jr. (D), Buffalo attorney, vs. JOHN R. PILLION (R), Lackawanna attorney, vs. David E. Gundlach (Liberal), Buffalo accountant. Leans Republican.

North Carolina

• 9th (Northwestern) -- HUGH Q. ALEXANDER (D), Kannapolis attorney, vs. A. M. Miller (R), Salisbury farmer-dairyman. Leans Democratic.

• 10th (Charlotte-Western) -- Ben E. Douglass (D), former mayor of Charlotte and former director of State Department of Conservation, vs. CHARLES RAPER JONAS (R), Lincolnton attorney. Leans Republican.

Ohio

• 3rd (Dayton-Hamilton) -- R. William Patterson (D), Dayton attorney, vs. PAUL F. SCHENCK (R), Dayton realtor. Leans Republican.

• 11th (Northeastern) -- James P. Bennett (D), Warren plant protection officer, vs. David S. Dennison Jr. (R), Poland attorney, to succeed retiring Rep. Oliver P. Bolton (R 1953-57). Leans Republican.

• 15th (Southeastern) -- Herbert U. Smith (D), Marietta businessman and former secretary to ex-Rep. Robert T. Secrest (D 1933-42; 1949-54), vs. JOHN E. HENDERSON (R), Cambridge attorney. Leans Republican.

• 16th (Canton) -- Ex-Rep. John McSweeney (D 1923-29; 1937-39; 1949-51), Wooster teacher and attorney, vs. FRANK T. BOW (R), Canton attorney. Leans Republican.

Oregon

• 3rd (Portland) -- EDITH S. GREEN (D), teacher, vs. Phillip J. Roth (R), attorney. Leans Democratic.

• 4th (Southwestern-Eugene-Roseburg) -- Charles O. Porter (D), Eugene attorney, vs. HARRIS ELLSWORTH (R), Roseburg newspaperman. Leans Republican.

Pennsylvania

• 3rd (Philadelphia) -- JAMES A. BYRNE (D), funeral director, vs. Charles H. Sporkin (R), contractor. Leans Democratic.

• 4th (Philadelphia) -- EARL CHUDOFF (D), attorney, vs. Horace C. Scott (R), physician. Leans Democratic.

• 5th (Philadelphia) -- WILLIAM J. GREEN JR. (D), insurance broker and Philadelphia County Democratic chairman, vs. James M. Schissler (R). Leans Democratic.

• 12th (Schuylkill-Northumberland Counties-Pottsville) -- George G. Lindsay (D), Tremont attorney, vs. IVOR D. FENTON (R), Mahanoy City physician. Leans Republican.

• 20th (Central-Altoona) -- John R. Stewart (D), Altoona highway safety engineer, vs. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT (R), Altoona, former railroader and veterans' organization official. Leans Republican.

• 24th (Northwestern-Erie) -- William D. Thomas (D), Sharon florist and former state official, vs. CARROLL D. KEARNS (R), Farrell educator. Leans Republican.

Virginia

• 1st (Newport News-Hampton) -- EDWARD J. ROBESON JR. (D), retired Newport News businessman, vs. Horace E. Henderson (R), Williamsburg real estate and insurance broker. Leans Democratic.

• 3rd (Richmond) -- J. VAUGHAN GARY (D), attorney, vs. Royall E. Cabell Jr. (R), attorney. Leans Democratic.

• 6th (Roanoke-Lynchburg-West Central) -- John L. Whitehead (D), former mayor of Radford and state legislator, vs. RICHARD H. POFF (R), Radford attorney. Leans Republican.

• 10th (Arlington-Fairfax Counties -- Washington suburbs) -- Warren D. Quenstedt (D), Alexandria attorney, vs. JOEL T. BRODYHILL (R), Arlington businessman, vs. Richard O. Read (Independent) of Arlington. Leans Republican.

Washington

• 1st (Seattle) -- James B. Wilson (D), attorney, vs. THOMAS M. PELLY (R), banker. Leans Republican.

• 4th (Southeast-Walla Walla Yakima) -- Frank LaRoux (D), Walla Walla businessman with farming interests, vs. HAL HOLMES (R), Ellensburg teacher and farmer. Leans Republican.

West Virginia

• 1st (Northern-Wheeling) -- C. Lee Spillers (D), Wheeling attorney, and Ohio County prosecutor, vs. Arch A. Moore Jr. (R), Moundsville attorney, to succeed retiring Rep. Robert H. Mollohan (D 1953-57) of Fairmont. Leans Democratic.

• 2nd (Northeastern-Morgantown) -- HARLEY O. STAGGERS (D), Keyser teacher, vs. Mrs. Davis Elkins (R) of Morgantown, wife of former Sen. Davis Elkins (R 1919-25). Leans Democratic.

Wisconsin

• 1st (Racine-Kenosha-Southeast) -- Gerald T. Flynn (D), Racine attorney and former state senator, vs. LAWRENCE H. SMITH (R), Racine attorney. Leans Republican.

• 3rd (Southwestern-LaCrosse) -- Norman M. Clapp (D), Lancaster newspaper editor, vs. GARDNER R. WITHROW (R), LaCrosse businessman. Leans Republican.

• 5th (Milwaukee) -- HENRY S. REUSS (D), attorney, vs. Russell Wirth Jr. (R), former staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, teacher and writer. Leans Democratic.

• 9th (Western-Rural, Eau Claire) -- LESTER R. JOHNSON (D), Black River Falls attorney, vs. Arthur L. Peterson (R), Eau Claire College professor. Leans Democratic.

WINNING HOUSE ELECTION PERCENTAGES SINCE 1948

Col. 1 -- Incumbent's 1954 winning share of the vote.
 Col. 2 -- Winner's share of the 1952 Congressional vote. (†) denotes winner from party (either Republican or Democrat) opposing the current incumbent's party.
 Col. 3 -- Winner's share of the 1950 Congressional vote. (†) denotes winner from party (either Republican or Democrat) opposing the current incumbent's party.
 Col. 4 -- Winner's share of the 1948 Congressional vote. (†) denotes winner from party (either Republican or Democrat) opposing the current incumbent's party.
 Col. 5 -- Eisenhower share of the 1952 Presidential vote (1)
 Col. 6 -- Truman share of the 1948 Presidential vote (2) (Percentages based on total Dem. and GOP vote, not total vote.)
 Blank space indicates redistricting.

	1 1954	2 1952	3 1950	4 1948	5 1952 like %	6 1948 HST %
ALABAMA (3)						
3 Andrews D	X	X	X	X	27.8	
1 Boykin D	X	X	X	X	42.2	
7 Elliott D	78.9	72.5	X	X	37.4	
2 Grant D	X	X	X	X	36.8	
9 Huddleston D	X	X	X	87.0	45.8	
8 Jones D	91.6	87.3	X	88.0	20.4	
5 Rains D	X	X	X	X	27.3	
4 Roberts D	X	X	93.7	85.0	35.9	
6 Selden D	X	X	X	82.0	38.7	
ARIZONA						
*1 Rhodes R	53.1	54.0	60.6†	58.4†	60.6	52.5
2 Udall D	62.1	56.9	69.1	62.8	56.2	57.2
ARKANSAS						
1 Gathings D	X	X			39.2	
4 Harris D	X	X			36.3	
5 Hays D	X	78.8			47.8	
2 Mills D	X	X			38.8	
6 Norrell D	X	X			39.5	
3 Trimble D	X	56.0			57.2	
CALIFORNIA						
*7 Allen R	53.0	X	55.3	51.4	52.7	
*6 Baldwin R	50.9	50.6†			47.3	
2 Engle D	X	X			57.8	
10 Gubser R	61.2	59.2			60.8	
14 Hagen D	65.1	51.0			54.8	
*11 Johnson R	52.6	X			55.5	
4 Mailliard R	61.2	55.0			61.7	
8 Miller D	65.4	X			51.8	
3 Moss D	65.3	50.8			51.4	
*29 Phillips R	57.9	X			64.7	
1 Scudder R	59.1	X			63.9	
5 Shelley D	X	X			42.1	
27 Sheppard D	64.8	55.0			57.0	
*12 Sisk D	53.8	X†			49.2	
13 Teague R*	52.5	51.0	52.1	X	61.0	47.4
28 Uht R	66.2	63.0			69.1	
30 Wilson R	60.4	59.6			62.0	
*9 Younger R	54.5	53.1			63.1	
Los Angeles County						
23 Doyle D	70.9	X			44.8	
21 Hiestand R	58.7	53.6			63.3	
25 Hillings R*	65.2	64.3	60.1	X	65.8	
20 Hinshaw R (f)	71.2	X			71.5	
19 Hollifield D	74.8	X			38.6	
22 Holt R	58.2	60.4			63.2	
18 Hosmer R	55.0	55.5			58.8	
16 Jackson R	60.8	59.7			64.6	
17 King D	60.1	54.6			51.8	
24 Lipscomb R	56.9	X			60.1	
15 McDonough R	56.9	X			57.2	
26 Roosevelt D	60.1	X			39.8	
COLORADO						
*4 Aspinall D	53.5	50.0	57.3	51.9	64.3	52.9
*3 Chenoweth R	53.0	57.7	51.6	50.7†	59.0	56.4
2 Hill R	55.3	63.1	57.5	51.9	65.6	47.7
*1 Rogers D	55.6	50.8	50.3	64.8	56.5	54.0
CONNECTICUT						
*3 Cretella R	52.7	52.8	52.1†	49.7†	55.8	**
*1 Dodd D	57.0	54.0	58.2	54.7	50.6	54.3
4 Morano R	57.6	60.1	55.8	55.2	61.1	43.3
*5 Patterson R	52.8	56.7	53.7	51.1	56.9	**
AL Sadlak R	50.9	55.0	50.4	49.6	55.7	
*2 Seely-Brown	50.7	55.5	50.8	51.7†	56.0	50.5
DELAWARE						
*AL McDowell D	54.9	51.9†	56.7†	50.6†	51.8	49.4

	1 1954	2 1952	3 1950	4 1948	5 1952 like %	6 1948 HST %
FLORIDA						
2 Sennett D	X	X			48.3	
*1 Cramer R	50.7	50.7†			61.9	
*4 Foscell D	X	X			66.0	
*7 Haley D	55.5	56.3			56.7	
5 Heilong D	X	X			63.0	
8 Matthews D	X	X			42.3	
*6 Rogers D(a)	X	60.8			65.5	
3 Sikes D	X	X	X	X	26.7	82.0
GEORGIA						
8 Blitch D	X	X	X	X	26.7	84.3
10 Brown D	X	X	X	X	28.6	84.4
*5 Davis D	64.4	X	X	X	40.5	66.5
4 Flynt D	X	X	X	X	17.4	88.1
3 Forrester D	X	X	X	X	27.4	81.0
9 Landrum D	X	X	X	X	29.5	68.4
7 Lanham D	X	X	X	X	30.8	77.3
2 Pilcher D	X	X	X	X	25.9	81.1
1 Preston D	83.7	X	X	X	37.7	74.9
6 Vinson D	X	X	X	X	26.0	77.6
IDAH						
2 Budge R	60.8	66.2	57.1	50.7	68.6	50.3
*1 Frost D	54.9	50.3	50.5†	51.9	60.9	52.9
ILLINOIS						
16 Allen R	X	66.5	67.3	58.5	66.3	39.7
17 Arends R	65.0	63.6			64.8	
*19 Chipfield R	56.5	60.8	59.0	54.0	61.2	44.5
*25 Gray D	52.6	56.2†			55.6	
*21 Mack D	54.8	52.4			55.3	
15 Mason R	62.8	63.6	63.3	56.4	62.5	42.2
24 Price D*	69.2	64.8	64.9	69.5	40.6	63.0
14 Reed R(b)	72.4	71.5	74.2	68.3	72.7	
20 Simpson R	62.9	61.8			60.9	
22 Springer R	62.0	63.0			61.1	
18 Velde R	57.4	55.2	61.6	52.1	60.5	45.8
*23 Vursell R	52.9	58.1			59.1	
Chicago-Cook County						
7 Bowler D	78.4	70.0			31.2	
*12 Boyle D	54.1	55.7†			55.2	
13 Church R	69.6	70.6			70.4	
1 Dawson D	75.3	73.5			25.4	
8 Gordon D	68.4	59.0			41.9	
10 Hoffman R	57.3	65.0	66.5	58.1	64.8	
5 Kluczynski D	73.2	64.5			38.6	
*4 McVey R	52.1	56.6			55.9	
*3 Murray D	53.8	54.5†			55.0	
6 O'Brien D	71.7	63.1			38.9	
*2 O'Hara D	61.6	51.4			49.1	
*11 Sheehan R	50.9	59.4	56.7	50.8†	58.0	
9 Yates D	60.3	52.4			51.3	
INDIANA						
4 Adair R	59.8	63.7	56.2	50.8†	64.9	44.8
*5 Beamer R	53.1	56.9	54.1	51.9†	57.5	50.4
7 Bray R	55.4	56.1	50.0	53.7†	56.6	50.4
11 Brownson R	54.9	59.3	56.5	50.6†	60.5	48.6
*3 Crumpacker R	50.4	54.5	52.8	51.9†	55.9	50.3
*8 Denton D	52.1	52.6†	51.0	55.4	55.3	54.7
2 Hallack R	59.8	59.3	57.2	55.2	67.3	41.5
*6 Harden R	52.5	55.7	52.4	49.9	58.5	48.4
10 Harvey R	55.9	59.9	58.7	52.5	60.4	46.6
*1 Madden D	61.4	56.4	52.6	60.7	44.7	60.0
*9 Wilson R	51.7	56.4	54.9	51.6	58.5	49.0
IOWA						
*5 Cunningham R	55.6	58.8	56.9	50.8	58.7	54.5
*6 Dalliver R	60.3	68.7	64.6	55.8	65.3	54.1
3 Gross R	62.1	65.8	64.0	58.3	66.4	51.3
8 Hoeven R	63.8	X	64.1	55.2	68.8	52.1
7 Jensen R	60.4	67.3	62.0	56.9	67.4	47.1
*4 LeCompte R	55.6	61.9	56.7	51.5	59.7	52.1
1 Schwengel R	57.0	62.8	61.7	53.5	63.5	48.8
*2 Talle R	55.4	62.2	58.8	57.4	63.1	49.9
KANSAS						
*1 Avery R	54.3	51.5†	66.5	60.5	71.3	41.4
3 George R	55.4	59.5	54.7	55.0	64.5	46.6
*5 Hope R	64.9	70.9	61.8	65.0	71.5	45.0
*4 Rees R	56.2	59.4	58.9	55.6	71.5	45.6
2 Scrivner R	54.7	57.3	52.2	51.9	61.3	50.6
*6 Smith R	53.3	62.5	59.5	57.6	76.4	42.2

	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6
	1954	1952	1950	1948	1952	1948		1954	1952	1950	1948	1952	1948
					like %	HST %						like %	HST %
New York City (Cont.)													
4 Latham R.	54.2	62.6			63.0								
13 Multer D.	78.8	68.3			30.9								
16 Powell D.	77.6	73.9			17.0								
*15 Ray R.	51.6	57.9			67.5								
14 Rooney D.	73.1	64.2			41.6								
21 Zelenka D.	67.8	63.4†			37.0								
NORTH CAROLINA													
*9 Alexander D.	52.2	51.5	61.1	59.6	58.1	51.1							
3 Barden D.	77.3	76.1	X	78.8	35.9	74.3							
1 Bonner D.	92.5	X	92.8	91.9	23.7	87.0							
7 Carlyle D.	81.2	X	84.0	84.3	39.9	75.1							
5 Chatham D.	66.2	X	X	72.7	44.1	64.6							
4 Cooley D.	X	75.3	72.8	78.1	37.9	72.7							
8 Deane D.	59.1	59.9	59.6	62.7	48.9	56.4							
6 Durham D.	74.2	69.5	75.4	72.1	47.4	61.3							
2 Fountain D.	X	94.8	X	96.0	18.8	93.0							
*10 Jonas D.	57.5	57.4	52.3†	59.6†	59.0	48.5							
11 Jones D.	67.5	63.0	68.9	64.9	50.0	59.5							
12 Shuford D.	61.5	56.9	63.7	63.1	51.5	57.6							
NORTH DAKOTA													
AL Burdick R.	71.7	78.4	77.0	X	71.0	45.4							
AL Krueger R.	62.4	X	65.6	69.4	71.0	45.4							
OHIO													
*9 Ashley D (4) . . .	36.4	40.9†			51.7								
14 Ayres R.	54.6	58.5			50.5								
13 Baumhart R.	59.1	58.8			62.8								
8 Betts R.	63.0	68.7			68.5								
22 Bolton, F.P. R. . .	58.3	58.8			56.0								
*11 Bolton, O.P. R. . .	65.3	58.8			57.8								
*16 Bow R.	58.3	54.4			58.3								
7 Brown R.	62.2	X			62.6								
5 Cleveland R.	59.5	63.2			68.2								
20 Feighan D.	67.7	65.2			47.3								
18 Hays D.	57.3	55.8	50.8	54.1	49.0	56.6							
*15 Henderson R.	54.0	64.3†			62.3								
2 Hess R.	58.4	56.6			58.5								
10 Jenkins R.	61.7	64.0			60.6								
19 Kirwan D.	67.5	66.3			44.2								
4 McCulloch R.	67.6	68.3			64.9								
17 McGregor R.	64.6	68.2			65.9								
23 Minshall R.	67.5	64.6			69.4								
*6 Polk D.	52.2	50.1			56.9								
*3 Schenck R.	52.6	51.1			53.6								
1 Scherer R.	64.3	61.6			60.7								
21 Vanik D.	76.0	68.6			32.7								
12 Vorys R.	61.5	62.3	64.1	52.1	60.3	46.2							
OKLAHOMA													
3 Albert D.	83.3	77.9			37.1								
1 Belcher R.	58.8	58.6			65.2								
2 Edmondson D.	64.7	59.2			51.4								
5 Jarman D.	66.0	62.4			56.5								
4 Steed D.	X	58.7			52.1								
6 Wickersham D.	69.3	63.3			53.7								
OREGON													
*2 Coan R.	52.6	58.5	55.4	58.2	62.1	50.6							
*4 Ellsworth R.	55.9	66.3	59.5	66.6	63.9	43.2							
*3 Green D.	52.4	54.0†	50.7†	55.5†	55.0	51.9							
1 Norblad R.	63.0	68.0	66.5	63.2	63.9	45.9							
PENNSYLVANIA													
30 Holland D (d) . . .	69.0	63.6			38.3								
17 Bush R.	56.5	61.1			65.8								
*10 Carriag R.	50.5	53.6			55.3								
*25 Clark D.	53.5	50.4†	52.4†	52.6†	51.6	47.3							
29 Corbett R.	60.6	61.7			58.8								
9 Dague R.	62.6	66.2	67.2	67.1	67.5	32.3							
28 Eberhart R.	65.1	58.7			42.2								
*12 Fenton R.	55.5	60.7	56.8	60.6	60.2	39.7							
*11 Flood D.	50.9	50.2†	54.4	51.8	54.8	46.3							
27 Fulton R.	62.8	62.6			56.1								
23 Gavin R.	61.9	67.8			68.1								
7 James R.	60.9	61.7	62.7	61.3	61.6	38.0							
24 Kearns R	52.0	57.1	57.0	54.5	58.0								
21 Kelley D*	61.1	52.9	57.1	62.2	42.2								
*8 King R.	51.2	59.3	58.2	59.2	59.7	41.4							
13 McConnell R* . . .	64.3	66.4	66.2	66.9	66.6								
26 Morgan D.	65.3	59.1			38.9								
16 Mumma R.	59.8	61.7			65.0								
*19 Quigley D.	51.0	52.3†			58.3								
14 Rhodes D*	62.0	49.7	49.8	50.3	52.4								
22 Saylor R	51.9	52.4	52.5	55.4	48.9								
18 Simpson R.	55.9	63.5			64.8								
PENNSYLVANIA (Cont.)													
20 Van Zandt R . . .	56.3	62.8	59.5	60.4	62.3								
15 Walter D*	61.6	54.8	58.3	58.8	53.0								
Philadelphia +													
1 Barrett D.	61.5	68.2	53.8	53.4	33.3								
*3 Byrne D.	55.4	58.4	50.3†	52.0†	42.7								
*4 Chudoff D.	65.7	69.9	57.5	55.7	30.3								
2 Granahan D (e) . . .	61.2	61.8	57.0	54.3	39.0								
*5 Green D.	55.0	54.2	55.5	50.7	46.6								
*6 Scott R.	50.6	51.7	50.0	57.0	51.9								
RHODE ISLAND													
2 Fogarty D.	60.4	53.4	60.6	59.7	51.8	✓							
1 Forand D.	59.2	54.9	63.2	61.9	49.9	✓							
SOUTH CAROLINA													
*4 Ashmore D.	X	X	X	94.9	39.4								
*3 Dorn D.	X	93.9	X	97.8	34.2								
6 McMillan D (S) . . .	X	X	X	97.1	49.6								
5 Richards D.	X	93.9	X	97.1	35.3								
2 Riley D.	X	X	X	96.4	57.4								
1 Rivers D.	X	X	X	89.1	62.1								
SOUTH DAKOTA													
2 Berry R.	62.7	69.0	60.3	65.9	70.3	45.2							
*1 Love R.	58.0	68.5	60.8	53.5	69.0	48.3							
TENNESSEE													
2 Baker R.	58.0	68.9	52.2	58.0	62.8	42.4							
6 Bass D.	X	X			33.0								
8 Cooper D*	X	X	X	91.1	33.5								
9 Davis D*	83.5	X	X	X	47.5								
4 Evans D.	X	X			39.3								
3 Frazier D.	59.2	70.0			54.3								
7 Murray D*	X	X	X	69.2	47.1								
5 Priest D*(g)	90.6	67.5	X	81.4	41.0								
1 Reese R.	62.5	65.9	46.5	84.7	69.5	35.0							
TEXAS													
*5 Alger R.	52.9	X†	X†	X†	63.0	57.1							
14 Bell D.	93.8	X	X	88.9	51.2	70.7							
2 Brooks D.	X	79.0	X	93.3	43.7	82.1							
17 Burleson D.	X	X	X	X	54.3	84.2							
AL Dies D.	88.0	X			53.2								
7 Dowdy D.	X	X	X	X	45.5	78.2							
21 Fisher D.	X	X	X	X	61.6	72.0							
3 Gentry D.	X	X	91.1	88.7	50.7	74.4							
13 Ikard D.	X	X	X	X	48.4	83.0							
20 Kilgore D.	X	X	X	75.3	56.5	57.9							
15 Kilgore D.	X	X	X	X	55.5	65.8							
19 Mahon D.	X	X	93.9	95.6	50.2	85.5							
1 Patman D.	X	X	X	X	40.5	85.7							
11 Poage D.	X	X	X	96.3	42.6	85.0							
4 Rayburn D.	X	X	X	X	42.3	84.4							
18 Rogers D.	64.9	X	52.5	88.7	59.1	78.3							
16 Rutherford D.	X	X	X	X	59.4	75.8							
6 Teague D.	X	X	X	X	39.0	81.5							
8 Thomas D.	62.1	X	77.8	85.5	57.7	57.6							
9 Thompson D.	X	X	X	X	54.0	67.5							
10 Thornberry D.	X	X	X	X	49.2	77.2							
12 Wright D.	X	X	80.6	89.1	56.5	70.5							
UTAH													
2 Dawson R.	57.2	52.5	53.4†	57.5†	58.2	54.8							
1 Dixon R.	53.4	60.5	51.1†	59.0†	60.1	54.1							
VERMONT													
AL Prouty R.	61.4	71.8	73.4	60.9	71.5	37.6							
VIRGINIA													
4 Abbott D.	X	X	X	X	46.5	71.4							
*10 Brayhill R.	53.7	50.2			60.3								
*3 Gory D.	58.0	57.5	X	72.9	61.0	54.4							
2 Hardy D.	74.4	X	X	61.2	4								

	1 1954	2 1952	3 1950	4 1948	5 1952 like %	6 1948 HST %		1 1954	2 1952	3 1950	4 1948	5 1952 like %	6 1948 HST %
WEST VIRGINIA							WISCONSIN (Cont.)						
3 Bailey D	58.9	53.4			48.5		7 Laird R	59.1	72.3	68.3	62.5	67.5	48.1
* 4 Burnside D	50.2	53.3†			55.6		10 O'Konaki R	59.7	67.4	57.0	54.8	57.6	56.2
6 Byrd D	62.7	55.6	61.6	62.5	44.5	60.8	■ 5 Reuss D	52.2	51.6†	51.6†	53.1	54.8	#
5 Kee D	67.5	63.8	65.7	65.1	39.9	63.5	■ 1 Smith R	54.4	59.4	57.2	51.9	59.6	51.1
■ 1 Mollohan D	52.7	52.9	51.7	57.3	48.2	57.6	6 Van Pelt R	62.5	71.7	65.0	55.5	68.4	45.1
■ 2 Staggers D	55.0	51.5	54.3	54.7	52.0	53.6	■ 3 Withrow R	62.1	75.1	58.8	69.2	68.9	49.3
WISCONSIN							4 Zablocki D	71.1	64.3	60.9	55.9	48.0	#
8 Byrnes R	62.0	73.6	62.0	56.6	68.2	48.4	WYOMING						
2 Davis R	54.0	62.9	57.6	53.9	60.7	51.8	AL Thomson R	56.2	60.1	54.5	51.5	62.7	52.2
■ 9 Johnson D	55.4	65.2†	70.8†	98.1†	64.4	53.9							

Footnotes

- (1) Based on data supplied by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee.
- (2) Based on data supplied by the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.
- (3) Four states, Southern, were carried by Strom Thurmond (D S.C.) on the States Right Democratic Presidential ticket in 1948: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina.
- (4) Low election percentage due to three-way contest in 1954. The defeated incumbent was an Independent.
- (5) Eisenhower carried Sixth District although his percentage was less than 50 percent on Independent ticket.
- † Winner from party (either Republican or Democratic) opposing the incumbent's party.
- X No major party opposition.
- * District remains same geographically although the District number was changed due to redistricting.
- ** Districts 3 and 5 together, Truman percentage: 48.7.
- *** Districts 3 and 5 together, Truman percentage: 56.2
- **** Districts 1 and 2 together, Truman percentage: 47.1.
- = Total Cook and Lake Counties (Districts 1-13), Truman percentage: 54.0.
- // Total Wayne and Oakland Counties (Districts 1,13-17), Truman percentage: 58.5.
- ‡ New Jersey: Districts 3 and 5 together, Truman percentage: 41.7; Districts 7-4, Truman percentage: 48.9
- + Districts 1-6, Truman percentage: 50.4
- ✓ Districts 1 and 2 together, Truman percentage: 58.2.
- # Districts 4 and 5 together (Milwaukee County), Truman percentage: 57.5.
- (a) Dwight L. Rogers died Dec. 1, 1954; Paul G. Rogers elected Jan. 11, 1955.
- (b) Chauncey W. Reed died Feb. 9, 1956, seat currently vacant.
- (c) Sidney J. Fine (D) resigned Jan. 1, 1956. James C. Healey (D) Feb. 7, 1956, won special election, polled 72 percent of the total vote cast.
- (d) Vera D. Buchanan (D) died Nov. 26, 1955. Elmer J. Holland (D) Jan. 24, 1956, won a special election, polled 75 percent of the vote.
- (e) William T. Granahan (D) died May 25, 1956; seat currently vacant.
- (f) Carl Hinshaw (R) died Aug. 5, 1956; seat currently vacant.
- (g) J. Percy Priest (D) died Oct. 12, 1956, seat currently vacant.
- ★ Indicates "doubtful" district.
- Indicates "fighting" district.

Capitol Quotes

DROUGHT -- "Words alone are hardly adequate to describe the devastation of the drought.... Unless we take immediate steps to provide ample water for the future, in a few short years we will again face the same devastation. At that time it could be much worse because of the continually expanding population and the demands for water, incidental thereto.... There has been much talk in recent years about capturing the surface water, preventing the waste of some 85 percent of it that flows into the ocean. However the talk has not captured much of the water. There has been a definite move in the direction of water conservation and the initiating of water projects designed to cope with the problem. But, relatively speaking, the action has not been in keeping with the present needs and certainly not in keeping with future needs. Water is serious business and something that should not be used as a political football..." -- Rep. Walter Rogers (D Texas) Oct. 12 newsletter.

RESEARCH PROGRAMS -- "A substantial portion of the billions of dollars the Eisenhower Administration is pouring out in expenditures for defense is involved in expenditures for experimental, developmental and research programs. Who is getting the large amounts of cash expended for those purposes?The records of the Defense Department have just disclosed that out of all the money the...Administration expended on (these) programs in the name of defense during July 1956, 98 percent went to big business and only 2 percent went to small business.... These big business corporations...do of course produce some results. They have invented many things. However, despite the fact that Uncle Sam paid for the work which produced the inventions the big corporations for the most part have held on to the title to the inventions. In most instances they have merely 'licensed' the U.S. government to buy and use the products of the inventions." -- Rep. Wright Patman (D Texas) Oct. 12 release.

INTERNAL SECURITY -- "It is interesting to note that in this campaign year there has been much less discussion of the danger of Communist infiltration....

I believe this is so not because the threat has vanished, but because many effective measures have been taken in recent years which have almost completely closed the door to such a possibility.... It is a good thing that the subject of internal security is not so prominent in this year's political debate, for it is a matter which rises far above partisanship.... Specific programs to combat subversion may be debatable, but we all agree that effective prosecution of the Communist conspiracy is a necessary and important duty of the government." -- Rep. William G. Bray (R Ind.) Oct. 18 release.

CAMPAIGN TACTICS -- "The campaign has developed into a back alley demonstration as to how low a party can go in order to gain an election. Kefauver makes the most noise in making statements that the President is deceiving the people. I think his wailings can be passed over as not coming from a great man.... Stevenson is more clever and so far has kept away from mudholes, but at this stage of our foreign entanglements, which of the two men, Stevenson or Eisenhower, is the best fitted to extricate us from the blunders of three wars?.... The President may have erred in many things, but in this the greatest issue before this country -- stopping war -- he is right, and those who wish to maintain the United States should realize it." -- Rep. Usher L. Burdick (R N.D.) Oct. 18 release.

FOREIGN RELATIONS -- "Only the most short-sighted would argue for a moment that all is sweetness and light in our troubled world relations. We know that some of our friends are looking at Uncle Sam with the general pleasure of a hungry nephew contemplating a rich Uncle. If we didn't expect this on occasion, we would be deceiving ourselves. There are, unfortunately, some countries which have nationalized foreign assets, repudiated debts and established anti-foreign discrimination as their normal operating procedures. Almost incredibly, the government of the United States goes right on dealing with these countries.... Perhaps we have no visible alternative but we ought to be doing our level best to develop a better sense of fair play with our allies." -- Sen. George H. Bender (R Ohio) Oct. 20 newsletter.



The Week In Congress

Platforms, Performances

Any voters still pondering how to cast their ballots will find only limited guidance in a comparison of party platforms and performances. Congressional Quarterly made such a study, pairing specific pledges made by Democrats and Republicans in 1952 with the subsequent actions of the Eisenhower Administration and Congressional Democrats and Republicans. The conclusion: each party can -- and does -- claim to have fulfilled some of its promises, and some of the other party's as well. (Page 1235)

Communism in Hawaii

The chairman of the Commission on Subversive Activities of the Territory of Hawaii told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, in testimony released Oct. 16, the Commission had uncovered Communist union activities on the islands, especially within the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the United Public Workers. (Page 1255)

Illinois Embezzlement

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee continued its hearings in Chicago on circumstances surrounding the \$1.5 million embezzlement of state funds by former Illinois Auditor Orville E. Hodge. Former Gov. Dwight H. Green testified that \$1 million in state funds were sent to his bank in 1953 by a state treasurer he had helped re-elect. "There's no sense in playing ostrich about this," said Green. "It is perfectly obvious that if someone does you a favor you will reciprocate if you can." A former state treasurer said "party loyalty" dictated which banks got most of the state funds. Herbert C. Paschen, Cook County treasurer who resigned as Democratic candidate for governor, said his employee welfare fund was for "charitable bequests." Banks contributed to the fund, he said, but were not deprived of state deposits if they did not do so. Gov. William G. Stratton said he doubted "if Hodge would be out of office yet" if he had not taken firm action. (Page 1254)

Nickel Project

A House Government Operations subcommittee resumed hearings on the \$43 million expansion of a government-owned nickel project in Cuba, heard the plant's project manager describe "political pressure" in connection with awarding the contract for the plant's expansion. Subcommittee investigators said officials of a company that received half of the contract increased their average contributions to the Republican party from \$636 a year to \$7,500 in 1954, the year the contract was awarded. (Page 1255)

Powell Switch

Negro Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D.N.Y.) Oct. 11 announced he would support President Eisenhower for re-election because he was pleased with Eisenhower's attitude on civil rights. Powell supported Stevenson in 1952. Powell said the President seemed to look with "enthusiasm" on a new formula for withholding federal money from school districts which failed to comply with the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. (Page 1257)

Yugoslavia Aid

President Eisenhower Oct. 15 authorized continuance of economic aid to Yugoslavia, but said heavy military equipment would be withheld "until the situation can be more accurately appraised." The President said his decision, requested by Congress in July, "restores discretion in this area to me and my subordinates." (Page 1256)

3-2 Favorites

Democrats are 3-2 favorites to retain control of the House of Representatives on Nov. 6. Congressional Quarterly's final pre-election analysis shows that approximately one-third of all contested House seats -- 120 out of 355 -- could change hands on election day. Of the 120 seats, 72 are held by Republicans and 48 by Democrats, giving the latter 3-2 odds in any across-the-board shuffle of seats. Democrats now hold a 29-seat majority in the 435-Member House and Republicans already have lost one Maine seat. This means the GOP must score a net gain of 16 seats -- plus an additional one for every seat it loses -- in order to oust Speaker Sam Rayburn (D Texas) and take over control of the House next January. Given the odds, it's an uphill fight. In only 13 of the 48 states do all of the House seats appear to be "sewed up" by one party. (Page 1263)